Colonialism is doomed: Speech to the UN by Ernesto Che Guevara

December 11, 1964
Published by the Republic of Cuba

A common aspiration – the overthrow of imperialism unites Cuba with Africa & Asia

Speech by Guevara to the Second Afro-Asian Economic Conference, Algeria, 22-27 February 1965.
(Published by the Republic of Cuba)

Socialism & Man + Che's Letter to Fidel,

Introduction by Eduardo Galeano – 'Che Guevara, the Bolivar of our time?
(*Monthly Review,* New York March 1966)
(Published by Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Toronto)

COLONIALISM IS DOOMED

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAJOR ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA, AT UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

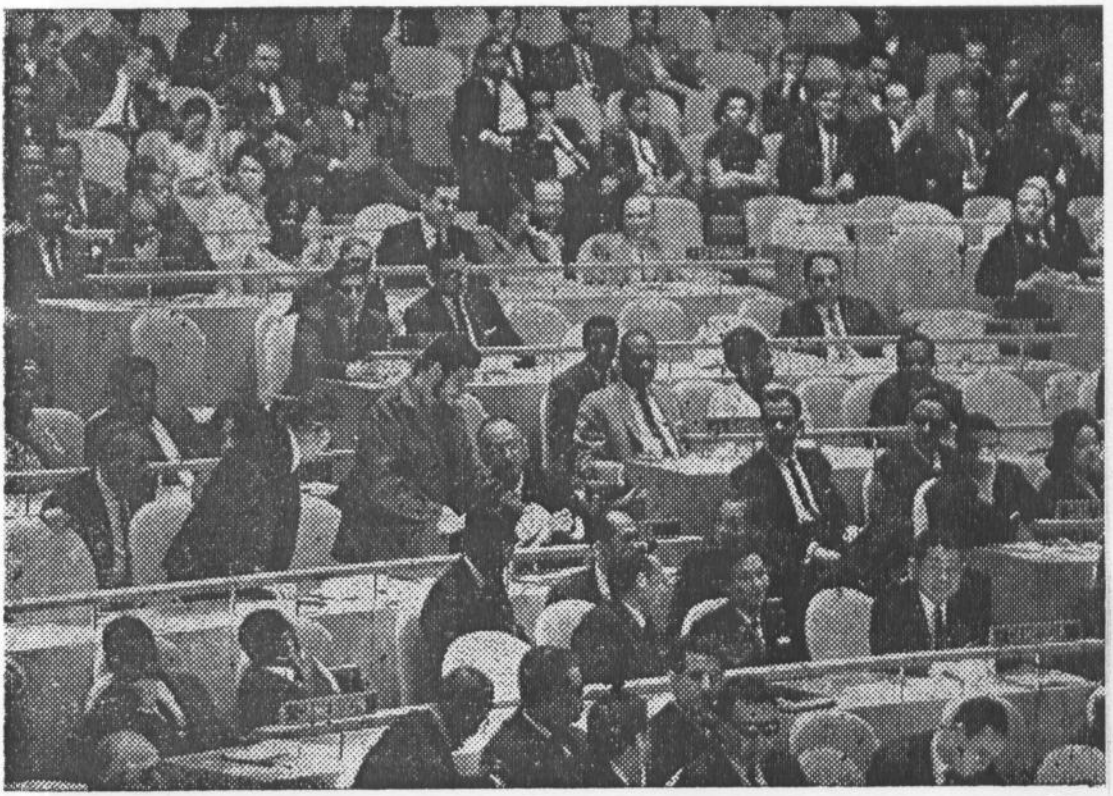
COLONIALISM IS DOOMED

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAJOR ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA, AT UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

COLONIALISM IS DOOMED

REPUBLIC OF CUBA
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

(17)



At the recent United Nations General Assembly Debate, Commandant Ernesto Che Guevara, Minister of Industry of the Revolutionary Government, expounded the immutable and firm position of Cuba.

The speech, defining Cuba's position on all the problems under debate, made a great impression.

The declarations, interrupted frequently by applause, answered crushingly both the provocations of counterrevolutionary exiles and the feeble and ridiculous replies made by the United States delegate and the Latin American puppets — replies which were duly refuted by Commandant Che Guevara.

In the same settting in which the Prime Minister of Cuba, Commandant Fidel Castro, had spoken four year earlier, the Minister of Industry showed that, with regard to the struggle of Latin America against its traditional oppressor, events had followed the course predicted by the Leader of the Cuban Revolution on that occassion; this was later set down in the Second Declaration of Havana.

This booklet contains the speech made by Commandant Guevara at the United Nations General Assembly on the 11th December, 1964, his replies to various delegates and a complete version of his replies to North American journalists in an interview for the program "Face the Nation".

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAJOR ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON DECEMBER 11th, 1964

The Cuban delegation to this Assembly has pleasure, first of all, in fulfilling the pleasant duty of welcoming three new nations to the large number of nations whose representatives are discussing the problems of the world. We therefore greet through their Presidents and Prime Ministers the people of Zambia, Malawi and Malta, and express the hope that from the outset these countries will be added to the group of non-aligned countries which struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We also wish to convey our congratulations to the President of this Assembly whose elevation to so high a post is of special significance since it reflects this new historic stage of resounding triumphs for the peoples of Africa, until recently subject to the colonial system of imperialism, and who, today, for the great part in the legitimate exercise of self-determination, have become citizens of sovereign States. The last hour of colonialism has struck and millions of inhabitants of Africa, Asia and Latin America rise to meet a new

life and assert their unrestricted right to self-determination and to the independent development of their nations.

We wish you, Mr. President, the greatest success in the tasks entrusted to you by Member States.

Cuba comes here to state its position on the most important controversial issues and will do so with the full sense of responsibility which the use of this rostrum implies, while at the same time responding to the unavoidable duty of speaking out, clearly and frankly.

We should like to see this Assembly shake itself out of complacency and move forward. We should like to see the Committees begin their work and not stop at the first confrontation. Imperialism wishes to convert this meeting into a aimless oratorical tournament, instead using it to solve the grave problems of the world. We must prevent their doing so. This Assembly should not be remembered in the future only by the number 19 which identifies it. We feel that we have the right and the obligation to try to make this meeting effective because our country is a constant point of friction; one of the places where the principles supporting the rights of small nations to sovereignty are tested day by day, minute by minute; and at the same time our country is one of the barricades of freedom in the world, situated a few steps away from United States imperialism, to show with its actions, its daily example, that peoples can liberate themselves, can keep themselves free, in the existing conditions of the world.

Of course, there is now a socialist camp which becomes stronger day by day nad has more powerful weapons of struggle. But, additional conditions are required for survival: the maintenance of internal cohesion, faith in one's destiny and the irreversible decision to fight to the death for the defense of one's country and revolution. These conditions exist in Cuba.

Of all the burning problems to be dealt with by this Assembly, one which has special significance for us and whose solution we feel must be sought first, so as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone, is that of peaceful coexistence among States with different economic and social systems. Much progress has been made in the world in this field. But, imperialism, particularly United States imperialism, has tried to make the world believe that peaceful coexistence is the exclusive right of the great powers on earth. We repeat what our President said in Cairo, and which later took shape in the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries: that there cannot be peaceful coexistence only among the powerful if we are to ensure world peace. Peaceful coexistence must be practised by all States, independent of size, of the previous historic relations that linked them and of the problems that may arise among some of them at a given moment.

At present, the type of peaceful coexistence to which we aspire does not exist in many cases. The Kingdom of Cambodia, merely because it maintained a neutral attitude and did not submit to the machinations

of United States imperialism has been subjected to all kinds of treacherous and brutal attacks from the Yankee bases in South Viet-Nam.

Laos, a divided country, has also been the object of imperialist aggression of every kind. The conventions concluded at Geneva have been violated, its peoples have been massacred from the air, and part of its territory is in constant danger from cowardly attacks by imperialist forces.

The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which knows of the histories of aggressions as few people on earth, once again has seen its frontier violated, its installations attacked by enemy bomber and fighter planes, its naval posts attacked by the United States warships violating territorial waters.

At this moment, there hangs over the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam the threat that the United States warmongers may openly extend to its territory the war that, for many years, they have been waging against the people of South Viet-Nam.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have given serious warning to the United States. Not only the peace of the world is in danger in this situation, but, also the lives of millions of human beings in this part of Asia are being constantly threatened and subjected to the whim of the United States invader.

Peaceful coexistence has also been put to the test in a brutal manner in Cyprus, due to pressures from the Turkish Government and NATO, compelling the people and the Government of Cyprus to make a firm and heroic stand in defense of their sovereignty.

In all these parts of the world, imperialism attempts to impose its version of what coexistence should be. It is the oppressed peoples in alliance with the socialist camp which must show them the meaning of true coexistence, and it is the obligation of the United Nations to support them.

We must also say that it is not only in relations between sovereign States that the concept of peaceful coexistence must be clearly defined. As marxists, we have maintained that peaceful coexistence among nations does not encompass coexistence between the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed.

Furthermore, a principle proclaimed by this Organization —is that of the right to full independence of all forms of colonial oppression. That is why we express our solidarity with the colonial peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique who have been massacred for the crime of demanding their freedom, and we are prepared to help them to the extent of our ability in accordance with the Cairo Declaration.

We express our solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico and its great leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, who has been set free in another act of hypocrisy, at the age of seventy-two, after spending a lifetime in gaol, now paralytic and almost without the ability to speak. Albizu Campos is a symbol of the still unredeemed but indomitable America. Years and years of prison,

almost unbearable pressures in gaol, mental torture, solitude, total isolation from his people and his family, the insolence of the conqueror and lackeys in the land of his birth nothing at all broke his will. The delegation of Cuba, on behalf of its people, pays a tribute of admiration and gratitude to a patriot who bestows honour upon America.

The North Americans, for many years, have tried to convert Puerto Rico into a reflection of hybrid culture —the Spanish language with an English inflection, the Spanish language with hinges on its backbone, the better to bend before the United States soldier. Puerto Rican soldiers have been used as cannon-fodder in imperialist wars, as in Korea, and even been made to fire at their own brothers, as in the massacre perpetrated by the United States army a few months ago against the helpless people of Panama —one of the most recent diabolical acts carried out by Yankee imperialism—. Yet despite that terrible attack against its will and its historic destiny, the people of Puerto Rico have preserved their culture, their Latin character, their national feelings which, in themselves, give proof of the implacable will for independence that exists among the masses on the Latin American island.

We must also point out that the principle of peaceful coexistence does not imply a mockery of the will of the peoples, as is happening in the case of so-called British-Guiana, where the Government of Primer Minister Cheddi Jagan has been the victim of every kind of pressure and manoeuvre while the achievement of independence has been delayed by the search for methods that would allow for the flouting of the will of the people while ensuring the docility of a Government different from the present one, put in by underhanded tactics, and then to grant an important "freedom" to this piece of American soil. Whatever roads Guiana may be compelled to follow to obtain independence, the moral and militant support of Cuba goes to its people.

Furthermore, we must point out that the islands of Guadaloupe and Martinique have been fighting for a long time for their autonomy without obtaining it. This state of affairs must not continue.

Once again we raise our voice to put the world on guard against what is happening in South Africa. The brutal policy of apartheid is being carried out before the eyes of the whole world. The peoples of Africa are being compelled to tolerate in that continent the concept, still official, of the superiority of one race over another and in the name of that racial superiority the murder of people with impunity. Can the United Nations do nothing to prevent this? I should like specifically to refer to the painful case of the Congo, unique in the history of the modern world which shows how, with absolute impunity, with the most insolent cynism the rights of peoples can be flouted. The prodigious wealth of the Congo, which the imperialist nations wish to maintain under their control, is the direct reason for this. In his speech on his first visit to the United Nations our comrade, Fidel Castro, said that the whole problem of coexistence

among peoples was reduced to the undue appropriation of another's wealth. He said: "When this philosophy of despoilment disappears, the philosophy of war will have disappeared".

The philosophy of despoilment not only has not ceased but, rather, it is stronger than ever, and that is why those who used the name of the United Nations to commit the murder of Lumumba, today in the name of the defense of the white race, are assassinating thousands of Congolese. How can one forget how the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the United Nations was betrayed? How can one forget the machinations and manoeuvres which followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by United Nations troops under whose auspices the assasins of this great African patriot acted with impunity? How can we forget that he who flouted the authority of the United Nations in the Congo and not exactly for patriotic reasons, but rather by virtue of conflicts between imperialists —was Moise Tshombe, who initiated the secession in Katanga with Belgian support? And how can one justify, how can one explain, that at the end of all the United Nations activities there, Tshombe, dislodged from Katanga, returned as lord and master of the Congo? Who can deny the abject role that the imperialists compelled the United Nations to play?

To sum up, dramatic mobilizations were made to avoid the secession of Katanga, but today that same Katanga is in power! The wealth of the Congo is in imperialist hands and the expenses must be paid by honest nations. The merchants of war certainly do good business. That is why the Government of Cuba supports the just attitude of the Soviet Union in refusing to pay the expenses of this crime.

And, as if this were not enough, we now have flung in our faces recent events which have filled the world with horror and indignation. Who are the perpetrators? Belgian paratroopers, transported by United States planes, who took off from British bases. We remember as if it were yesterday that we saw a small country in Europe, a civilized and industrious country, the Kingdom of Belgium, invaded by the hordes of Hitler. We learned with bitterness that these people were being massacred by the German imperialists, and our sympathy and affection went out to them. But the other side of the imperialist coin many did not then perceive. Perhaps the sons of Belgian patriots who died defending their country are now assassinating thousands of Congolese in the name of the white race, just as they suffered under the German heel because their blood was not purely Aryan. But the scales have fallen from our eyes and they now open upon new horizons and we can see what yesterday, in our conditions of colonial servitude, we could not observe —that "Western civilization" disguises under its showy front a scene of hyenas and jackals. That is the only name that can be applied to those who have gone to fulfill "humanitarian" tasks in the Congo. Blood thirsty butchers who feed on helpless people! That is what imperialism does to men; that is what marks the "white" imperialists.

The free men of the world must be prepared to avenge the crime committed in the Congo. It is possible that many of those soldiers, who were converted into "supermen" by imperialist machinery, believe in good faith that they are defending the rights of a superior race, but in this Assembly those peoples whose skins are darkened by a different sun, coloured by different pigments, constitute the majority, and they fully and crearly understand that the diference between men does not lie in the color of their skins, but in the ownership of the means of production and in the relationship of production.

The Cuban delegation extends greetings to the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, oppressed by white colonialist minorities, to the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, French Somaliland, the Arabs of Palestine, Aden and the Protectorates, Oman, and to all peoples in conflict with imperialism and colonialism; and we reaffirm our support.

I express also the hope that there will be a just solution to the conflict facing our sister republic of Indonesia in its relations with Malayasia.

One of the essential items before this conference is general and complete disarmament. We express our support of general and complete disarmament. Furthermore, we advocate the complete destruction of thermonuclear devices and the holding of a conference of all the nations of the world towards the fulfillment of this aspiration of all people. In his statemente before this Assembly, our Prime Minister said that arms races have always led to war. There are new atomic powers in the world, and the possibilities of a confrontation are grave.

We feel that a conference is necessary to obtain the total destruction of thermonuclear weapons and as a first step, the total prohibition of tests. At the same time, there must be clearly established the obligation of all States to respect the present frontiers of other States and to refrain from indulging in any aggression even with conventional weapons.

In adding our voice to that of all peoples of the world who plead for general and complete disarmament, the destruction of all atomic arsenals, the complete cessation of thermonuclear devices and atomic tests of any kind, we feel it necessary to stress, furthermore, that the territorial integrity of nations must be respected and the armed hand of imperialism, no less dangerous with conventional weapons, must be held back. Those who murdered thousands of defenseless citizens in the Congo did not use the atomic weapon. They used conventional weapons, and it was these conventional weapons, used by imperialists which caused so many deaths.

Even if the measures advocated here were to become effective, thus making it unnecessary to say the following, we must still point out that we cannot adhere to any regional pact for denuclearization so long as the United States maintains aggressive bases on our territory, in Puerto Rico and in Panama, and in other American states where it feels it has the right to station them

without any restrictions on conventional or nuclear weapons.

However, we feel we must be able to provide for our own defense in the light of the recent resolution of the Organization of American States against Cuba which on the basis of the Treaty of Rio, might permit aggression.

If such a conference to which we have just referred should achieve all these objectives —which, unfortunately, would be rather difficult to do— it would be one of the most important developments in the history of mankind. To ensure this the People's Republic of China, must be represented and that is why such a conference must be held. But it would be much simpler for the peoples of the world to recognize the undeniable truth that the People's Republic of China exists, that its rulers are the only representatives of the Chinese people, and to give it the place it deserves, which is, at present, usurped by a clique who control the province of Taiwan with United States aid.

The problem of the representation of China in the United Nations cannot, in any way, be considered as a case of a new admission to the Organization, but rather as the restitution of their legitimate rights to the people of the People's Republic of China.

We repudiate strongly the concept of "two Chinas". The Chiang Kai-Shek clique of Taiwan cannot remain in the United Nations. It must be expelled and the legitimate representative of the Chinese people put in.

We warn, also, against the insistence of the United States Government on presenting the problem of the legitimate representation of China in the United Nations as an "important question" so as to require a two-thirds majority of Members present and voting.

The admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is, in fact, an important question for the entire world, but not for the mechanics of the United Nations where it must constitute a mere question of procedure.

Thus will justice be done, but almost as important as attaining justice would be the fact that it would be demonstrated, once and for all, that this august Assembly uses its eyes to see with, its ears to hear, and its tongue to speak with; and has definite standars in making its decisions.

The proliferation of atomic weapons among the member States of NATO and, especially, the possession of these devices of mass destruction by the Federal Republic of Germany, would make the possibility of an agreement on disarmament even more remote, and linked to such an agreement is the problem of the peaceful reunification of Germany. So long as there is no clear understanding, the existence of two Germanys must be recognized: that of the Democratic Republic of Germany and the Federal Republic. The German problem can only be solved with the direct participation of the Democratic Republic of Germany with full rights in negotiations.

We shall touch lightly on the questions of economic development

and international trade which take up a good part of the agenda. In this year, 1964, the Conference of Geneva was held where a multitude of matters related to these aspects of international relations was dealth with. The warnings and forecasts of our delegation were clearly confirmed to the misfortune of the economically dependent countries.

We wish only to point out that insofar as Cuba is concerned, the United States of America has not implemented the explicit recommendations of that Conference, and recently the United States Government also prohibited the sale of medicine to Cuba, thus divesting itself, once and for all, of the mask of humanitarianism with which it attempted to disguise the aggressive nature of its blockade against the people of Cuba.

Furthermore, we once more state that these colonial machinations which impede the development of the peoples are not only expressed in political relations. The so-called deterioration of the terms of trade is nothing less than the result of the unequal exchange between countries producing raw materials and industrial countries which dominate markets and impose a false justice on an inequitable exchange of values.

So long as the economically dependent peoples do not free themselves from the capitalist markets and, as a bloc with the Socialist countries, impose new terms of trade between the exploited and the exploiters, there will be no sound economic development and, in certain cases, there will be retrogression, in which the weak countries will fall under the political domination of imperialists and colonialists.

Finally, it must be made clear that, in the area of the Caribbean, manoeuvres and preparations for aggression against Cuba are taking place; off the coast of Nicaragua above all, in Costa Rica. in the Panama Canal Zone. in the Vieques Islands of Puerto Rico, in Florida, and possibly in other parts of the territory of the United States and also, perhaps, in Honduras, Cuban mercenaries are training, as well as mercenaries of other nationalities, with a purpose that cannot be peaceful.

After an open scandal, the Government of Costa Rica —it is said— has ordened the elimination of all training fields for Cuban exiles in that country. No one knows whether this attitude is sincere, or whether it is simply a manoeuvre, because the mercenaries training there were about to commit some offense. We hope that full cognizance will be taken of the actual existence of those bases for aggression, which we denounced long ago, and that the world will think about the international responsibility of the government of a country which authorizes and facilitates the training of mercenaries to attack Cuba.

We must point out that news of the training of mercenaries at different places in the Caribbean and the participation of the United States Government in such acts is news that appears openly in United States newspapers. We know of no Latin Ameriacn voice that has been lifted officially in protest against

this. This shows the cynicism with wich the Unted States moves its pawns.

The shrewd Foreign Ministers of the OAS had eyes to "see" Cuban emblems and find "irrefutable proof" in the Yankee weapons in Venezuela, but do not see the preparations for aggression in the United States, just as they did not hear the voice of Presidente Kennedy, who explicitly declared himself to be the aggressor against Cuba at Playa Girón. In some cases, it is a blindness provoked by the hatred of the ruling classes of the Latin American people against our revolution; in others, and these are even more deplorable, it is the result of the blinding light of Mammon.

As everyone knows after the terrible upheaval called the "Caribbean crisis", the United States undertook certain given commitments with the Soviet Union which culminated in the withdrawal of certain types of weapons that the continued aggressions of that country —such as the mercenary attack against Playa Girón and threats of invasion against our country— had compelled us to install in Cuba as a legitimate act of defense.

The Americans claimed, furthermore, that the United Nations should inspect our territory, which we refused and refuse emphatically since Cuba does not recognize the right of the United States, or of anyone else in the world, to determine what type of weapons Cuba may maintain within its borders.

In this connection, we would only abide by multilateral agreements, with equal obligations for all the parties concerned. Fidel Castro declared that "so long as the concept of sovereignty exists as the prerrogative of nations and of independent peoples, and as a right of all peoples, we shall not accept the exclusion of our people from that right; so long as the world is governed by these principles, so long as the world is governed by those concepts which have universal validity because they are universally accepted by peoples, we shall not accept the attempt to deprive us of any of those rights and we shall renounce none of those rights".

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, understood our reasons. Nevertheless, the United States presumed to establish a new prerogative, an arbitrary and illegal one: that of violating the air space of any small country. Thus, we see flying over our country U-2 aircraft and other types of espionage apparatus which fly over our airspace with impunity. We have issued all the necessary warnings for the cessation of the violation of our airspace as well as the provocations of the American navy against our sentry posts in the zone of Guantánamo, the "buzzing" by aircraft over our ships or ships of other nationalities in international waters, the piratical attacks against ships sailing under different flags, and the infiltration or spies, saboteurs and weapons in our island.

We want to build socialism; we have declared ourselves partisans of those who strive for peace; we have declared ourselves as falling within the group of non-aligned countries,

although we are marxists-leninists, because the non-aligned countries, like ourselves, fight imperialism. We want peace; we want to build a better life for our people, and that is why we avoid answering, so far as possible, the planned provocations of the Yankee. But we know the mentality of U.S. rulers; they want to make us pay a very high price for that peace. We reply that price cannot go beyond the bounds of dignity.

And Cuba reaffirms once again the right to maintain on its territory the weapons it wishes and its refusal to recognize the right of any power on earth —no matter how powerful— to violate our soil, our territorial waters, or our airspace.

If, in any assembly, Cuba assumes obligations of a collective nature, it will fulfill them to the letter. So long as this does not happen, Cuba maintains all its rights, just as any other nation.

In the face of the demands of imperialism, our Primer Minister posed the five necessary points for the existence of a sound peace in the Caribbean. They are as follows:

> "1) Cessation of the economic blockade and all economic and trade pressure by the United States in all parts of the world against our country.
>
> 2) Cessation of all subversive activities, launching and landing of weapons, and explosives by air and sea, organization of mercenary invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, all of which acts are carried out from the territory of the United States and some accomplice countries.
>
> 3) Cessation of piratical attacks carried out from existing bases in the United States and Puerto Rico.
>
> 4) Cessation of all the violations of our airspace and our territorial waters by aircraft and warships of the United States.
>
> 5) Withdrawal from the Guantanamo naval base and restitution of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States."

None of these fundamental demands has been met, and our forces are still beign provoked from the naval base of Guantanamo. That base has become a nest of thieves and the point from which they are introduced into our territory.

We would bore this Assembly were we to give a detailed account of the large number of provocations of all kinds. Suffice it to say that, including the first day of December, the number amounts to 1,323 in 1964 alone. The list covers minor provocations such as violation of the dividing line, launching of objects from the territory controlled by the North Americans, the commission of acts of sexual exhibitionism by North Americans of both sexes, verbal insults; others which are graver such as shooting off small-caliber weapons, the manipulation of weapons directed against our territory and offenses against our national emblem. The more serious provoca-

tions are those of crossing the dividing line and starting fires in installations on the Cuban side, seventy-eight rifle shots this year and the death of Ramón López Peña, a soldier, from two shots fired from the United States post three and a half kilometres from the coast on the northern boundary

This grave provocation took place at 19:07 hours on July 19, 1964, and our Prime Minister publicly stated on July 26 that, if the event were to recur, he would give orders for our troops to repel the aggression. At the same time orders were given for the withdrawal of the advance line of Cuban forces to positions farther away from the dividing line and construction of the necessary housing.

One thousand three hundred and twenty-three provocations in 340 days amount to approximately four per day. Only a perfectly disciplined army with a morale such as ours could resist so many hostile acts without losing its self-control.

Forty-seven countries which met at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries at Cairo unanimmously agreed that:

> "Noting with concern that foreign military bases are, in practice, a mean of bringing pressure on nations and retarding their emancipation and development, based on their own ideological, political, economic and cultural ideas... declares its full support to the countries which are seeking to secure the evacuation of foreign bases on their territory and calls upon all States maintaining troops and bases in other countries to remove them forthwith.
>
> "The Conference considers that the maintenance at Guantanamo (Cuba) of a military base of the United States of America, in defiance of the will of the Government and people of Cuba and in defiance of the provisions embodied in the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference, constitutes a violation of Cuba's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
>
> "Noting that the Cuban Government expresses its readiness to settle its dispute over the base at Guantanamo with the United States on an equal footing, the Conference urges the United States Government to negotiate the evacuation of this base with the Cuban Government."

The Government of the United States has not responded to the above request of the Cairo Conference and presumes to maintain indefinitely its occupation by force of a piece of our territory from which it carries out acts of aggression such as those we mentioned earlier.

The Organization of American States —also called by some people establish relations with Cuba, we shall be prepared to do so on the the United States Ministry of Colonies— condemned us vigorously, although it had excluded us from its midst, and ordered its membres to break off diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. The Organiza-

tion of American States authorized aggression against our country at any time and under any pretext and violated the most fundamental international laws, completely disregarding the United Nations. Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico opposed that measure, and the Government of the United States of Mexico refused to comply with the sanctions that had been approved. Since then we have no relations with any Latin American countries other than Mexico; thus the imperialists have carried out one of the stages preliminary to a plan of direct aggression.

We want to point out once againt that our concern over Latin America is based on the ties that link us; the language we speak, our culture and the common master we shared. But we have no other reason for desiring the liberation of Latin America from the colonial yoke of the United States. If any of the Latin American countries here decides to rebasis of equality and not with the assumption that it is a gift to our Government that we be recognized as a free country in the world, because we won the recognition of our freedom with our blood in the days of our struggles for liberation. We acquired it with our blood in the defense of our shores against Yankee invasion.

Although we reject any attempt to attribute to us interference in the internal affairs of other countries we cannot deny that we sympathize with those people who strive for their freedom, and we must fulfill the obligation of our Government and people to state clearly and categorically to the world that we morally support and feel as one with people everywhere who struggle to make a reality of the rights of full sovereignty proclaimed in the United Nation Charter.

It is the United States of America which intervenes. It has done so trhougout history in America. Since the end of the last century Cuba has known very well the truth of the matter; but it is known, too, by Venezuela, Nicaragua, Central America, in general, Mexico, Haiti and Santo Domingo. In recent years, besides our peoples, Panama has also known direct aggression, when the marines of the Canal opened fire against the defenseless people; Santo Domingo, whose coast was violated by the Yankee fleet to avoid an outbreak of the righteous fury of the people after the death of Trujillo; and Colombia, whose capital was taken by assault as a result of a rebellion provoked by the assassination of Gaitán.

There are masked interventions through military missions which participate in internal repression, organizing forces designed for that purpose in many countries, and also in coups d'état which have been so frequently repeated on the American continent during the past few years. Specifically, United States forces took part in the repression of the peoples of Venezuela, Colombia and Guatemala, who carry on an armed struggle for their freedom. In Venezuela not only do the Americans advise the army and the police, but they also direct acts of genocide from the air against the peasant population in vast rebel-held areas, and the United States

companies established there exert pressures of every kind to increase direct interference.

The imperialists are preparing to repress the peoples of America and are setting up an "international" of crime. The United States interfores in America while invoking the "defense of free institutions". The time will come when this Assembly will acquire greater maturity and demand guarantees from the United States Government for the lives of the Negro and Latin American peopulation who reside in that country, most of whom are native-born or naturalized United States citizens.

How can they presume to be the "guardians of liberty" when they kill their own children and discriminate daily against people because of the colour of their skin, when they not only free the murderers of the coloured people, but even protect them, while punishing the coloured population because they demand their legitimate rights as free men? We understand that today the Assembly is not in a position to ask for explanations of these acts, but it must be clearly established that the Government of the United States is not the champion of freedom, but rather the perpetrator of exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the world and of a large part of its own population.

To the equivocating language with which some delegates have painted the case of Cuba and the Organization of American States, we reply with blunt words, that the Governments pay for their treason.

Cuba, a free and sovereign State, with no chains binding it to anyone, with no foreign investments on its territory, with no proconsuls orienting its policy, can speak proudly in this Assembly, proving the justice of the phrase by which we will always be known, "Free Territory of America".

Our example, will bear fruit in our continent, as it is already doing to a certain extent already in Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela. The imperialists no longer have to deal with a small enemy, a contemptible force, since the people are no longer isolated.

As is laid down in the Second Declaration of Havana:

"No people of Latin America is weak, because it is part of a family of 200 million brothers beset by the same miseries, who harbour the same feelings, have the same enemy, while they all dream of the same better destiny and have the support of all honest men and women in the world."

"Future history will be written by the hungry masses of Indians, of landless peasants, of exploited workers; it will be written by the progressive masses, by the honest and brilliant intellectuals who abound in our unfortunate lands of Latin America, by the struggle of the masses and of ideas: an epic that will be carried forward by our peoples who have been ill-treated and despised by imperialism, our peoples who have until now gone unrecognized but who are awakening. We ere considered an impotent and submissive flock; but now they are afraid of that flock, a gigantic flock of 200 million Latin

Americans, which is sounding a warning note to the Yankee monopolist capitalists."

"The hour of vindication, the hour it chose for itself, is now striking from one end to the other of the continent. That anonymous mass, that coloured America, sombre, adamant, which sings througt the continent the same sad, mournful song; now that mass is beginning definitely to enter into its own history, it is beginning to write it with its blood, to suffer and to die for it. Because now, in the fields, and in the mountains of America, in its plains and in its forests, in the solitude, and in the bustle of cities, on the shores of the great oceans and rivers, it is beginning to shape a world full of quickening hearts, who are ready to die for what is theirs, to conquer their rights which have been flouted for almost 500 years. History will have to tell the story of the poor of America, of the exploited of Latin America, who have decided to begin to write for themselves, for ever, their own odyssey. We see them already walking along those roads, on foot, day after day, in long and endless marches, hundreds of kilometres, until they reach the ruling "Olympus" and wrest back their rights. We see them armed with stones, with sticks, with machetes, here, there, everywhore, daily occupying their lands, and taking root in the land that is theirs and defending it with their lives; we see them carrying banners, their banner's we see them running in the wind in the mountain and on the plains. And that wave of heightening fury, of just demands, of rights that have been flouted, is rising throughtout Latin America, and no one can stem that tide; it will grow day by day because it is made up to the great multitude the multitude in every respect, those who with their work create the riches of the earth, and turn the wheel of history, those who are now awakening from their long, stupefying sleep."

"For this great humanity has said "enough" and has started to move forward. And their march, the march of giants, can not stop, will not stop until they have conquered their true independence, for which many have already died, and not uselessly. In any event, those who die will die like those in Cuba, at Playa Girón; they will die for their never to be renounced, their only true independence."

This new will of a whole continent, of America, shows itself in the cry proclaimed daily by our masses as the irrefutable expression of their decision to fight to grasp and deter the armed hand of the invader. It is a cry that has the understanding and support of all the peoples of the world and especially of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union.

That cry is: "Our country or death".

IN THE DECEMBER 11TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, MAJOR GUEVARA TOOK THE ROSTRUM ONCE MORE TO DELIVER A REJOINDER TO ANTI-CUBAN STATEMENTS MADE BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF COSTA RICA, NICARAGUA, VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES. A VERBATIM TRANSLATION OF THE CUBA ENVOY'S WORDS FOLLOWS:

I wish to apologize for having to speak a second time on this rostrum. I do so in exercise of my right of reply. Naturally, this might be called a counter-reply, and we could go on in this way having counter-replies to counter-replies *ad infinitum*.

We shall reply one by one to the statements of those representatives who criticized the Cuban statement, and we shall do so in the spirit in which each of them spoke.

I shall begin by replying to the representative of Costa Rica who regretted that Cuba had allowed itself to be influenced by certain false information appearing in the yellow press; and he said that his Government took, immediate measures of inspection when the "free" press of Costa Rica, which is very different from the "slave" press of Cuba, made some denunciatory statements.

Perhaps the representative of Costa Rica is right. We cannot make a definite statement based upon information appearing in the imperialist press, especially that of the United States, which has been quoted many tines by the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. But if Artime was the head of the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs, he was the head only until he arrived on Cuban shores and when they suffered the first casualties, he returned to the United States. Meanwhile, the majority of the members of that "he-

roic liberation expedition" appeared to have been either cooks or bottle-washers, at least, that is what they said they did, after they were taken prisoners, all these great "freedom fighters" of Cuba! Artime, who has become chief again, was indignant at the accusation. Why? Because there is a charge of smuggling whisky and naturally in their bases in Costa Rica and Nicaragua they do not smuggle whisky, they are only "training revolutionaries to free Cuba". The above statements were made to press agencies and have been printed around the world.

All of this has been brought out several times in Costa Rica, Costa Rica patriots have informed us of the existence of these bases in the Tortugueras zone and in the bordering zones, and the Government if Costa Rica must know very well the truth of the matter. We are absolutely sure these statements are true. We are also sure that Mr. Artime, among his many "revolutionary" activities, also had time to go into the smuggling of whisky because this is natural among the type of freedom fighters that the Government of Costa Rica protects, although they are only half-way protecting them.

We have maintained over and over again that revolutions are not exportable. Revolutions are born among the people. Exploitation gives rise to revolution exploitation by Governments such as those of Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela. Later assistance can be given or not given to the liberation movements. They can be supported morally. But the truth remains that revolution cannot be exported. We say this not by way of justification before this Assembly; it is simply a statement of well known scientific fact. Therefore, it would be foolish indeed if we tried to export revolutions — at any rate, not to Costa Rica, where, truth to say, there is a regime with which we have no communication of any kind. Nevertheless, it is not one of those regimes that are conspicuous in America for direct and indiscriminate oppression of its people.

With regard to Nicaragua, I should like to say to its representative, although I did not quite understand all his argumentation regarding accents I think he referred to Cuba, Argentina and Russia, or the Soviet Union, that I hope he did not find an American accent in my statement, because that would be dangerous! It may be that I have a trace of the Argentine in my accent. After all, I was born there and it is no secret to anyone. But I am a Cuban as well as an Argentinian. I hope you will not be offended if I say that I feel I am a patriot in any Latin American country. When the moment came, I was ready to lay down my life for the liberation of any Latin American country, without asking anyone for anything, without demanding anything or exploiting anyone. As for this you will find not only me, Che Guevara, but all the people of Cuba in the same frame of mind. All the people of Cuba are enraged whenever an injustice is committed in Latin America. We quote again what we have quoted so often, those marvelous words of Marti, "every true man must feel on his own cheek the blow struck against the check of any other

man". All the people of Cuba feel this way.

If the representative of Nicaragua wishes to look at a map and see the places that are difficult to reach, he could find Puerto Cabezas. I do not think he will deny it was from there that most of the Playa Girón expedition left. He could go to Bluefields; he could go to Monkey Point —in Spanish I think it would be called "Punto Mono" and, since it is in Nicaragua, I do not know by what historical accident it is named Monkey Point rather than Punto Mono. There he would find some counter-revolutionary Cubans or Cuban "revolutionaries" as the representative of Nicaragua prefers to call them. There is a good deal of whisky there too. I do not know whether it is smuggled in or imported. We are aware of those bases; and, naturally, we are not going to require the OAS to investigate. We know the OAS too well to make such an absurd request.

It has been said that we have atomic weapons. But we have none. I think the representative of Nicaragua made a slight mistake. We have simply defended our right to have those weapons which we were able to obtain for our defense. We have denied the right of any country to determine what type of weapons we should have. The representative of Cuba spoke of the U. S. massacre of the people of Panama, and the representative of Panama began speaking of the Mexican revolution and continued on those lines without referring at all to the U. S. massacre, on account of which the Government of Panama broke relations with the United States. Perhaps, in political parlance, his approval might be called a tactic, but in revolutionary parlance it is called abjection in every sense of the word.

He referred to the invasion of Panama in 1959. A group of adventurers led by a coffee-swilling *barbudo* who had never been in our Sierra Maestra mountains, and who is now I assume in Miami or some other place, were stirred up to embark upon that adventure. Officials of the Cuban Government worked with the Government of Panama in order to liquidate that undertaking. It is true that they came from Cuban ports, and it is also true that we discussed the matter in a friendly manner at that time.

Of all the statements made here against the Cuban Delegation, the most inexcusable was the one by the representative of Panama. We had not the slightest intention of offending Panama or its Government. We also had not the slightest intention of defending the Government of Panama. We wished to defend the people of Panama by making our statement before the United Nations , since the Government of Panama has neither the courage nor the dignity to bring up certain matters here and to call a spade a spade. We did not wish to offend or to defend the Government of Panama. Our simpathy goes to the people of Panama, and we are trying to defend them through our statement.

Among the assertions made by the representative of Panama we found a most interesting one. He said that in spite of Cuban swag-

gering, the Guantanamo base is still there. In our statement which is still fresh in the memories of the delegates, it will be recalled that we mentioned some thousands of provocations proceeding from the base at Guantanamo. We attempted to avoid these provocations, as we know what the consequences could be for our people. We have brought up the problem of the Guantanamo base, at every international conference, and have always asserted the right of the people of Cuba to recover this base by peaceful means.

We have never boasted. We are men who are ready to die to defend our cause and we lead a whole people who are ready to die for their cause: Therefore we have no need to boast. We did not boast at Playa Giron. We did not boast during the October crisis, when all our people were confronted by an atomic threat from the United States. All our people went to the trenches or to the factories to increase production. No one retreated. No one complained. Thousands and thousands of men who had not been in our militia before volunteered to enter it at the time, when North American imperialism threatened to drop atomic bombs on Cuba to launch atomic war. That is our country! Such a country whose people and leaders and we can say this proudly, have not the slightest fear of death, and take full responsibility for their actions never need to boast. To fight to the death, yes! If necessary. All the people of Cuba, with the Government at their head, will fight to the death, if we are attacked.

The representative of Colombia said very calmly —and I shall also try to speak calmly now— that two untrue assertions had ben made. The first related to the Yankee invasion of 1948, after the assassination of Eliecer Gaitan. From the tone of voice used by the representative of Colombia, I would say that he greatly regrets, was deeply moved by Mr. Gaitan's death. In our statement we referred to a previous interference which the representative of Colombia seems to have forgotten. We referred to the U. S. interference in the division of Panama.

The representative of Colombia then said that there were no liberation forces in Colombia, because there was nothing to liberate. In Colombia, where it seems that they speak quite naturally of representative democracy when there are only two political parties, which have for years divided up the power between tham —fifty-fifty— in accordance with some fantastic kind of democracy, the Colombian oligarchy has reached the height of democracy. It is divided into liberals and conservatives, conservatives and liberals: four year for the liberals, and four years for the conservatives. Nothing changes. Those are the elected democracies, the representative democracies, which are defended —quite enthusiastically, it seems— by the representative of Colombia, that country in which it is said that 200 to 300 thousand people died after the civil war which followed the death of Gaitan. And yet we are now told that there is nothing to liberate, that there is nothing to avenge. It seems that there are not thousands of deaths

to be avenged, that the army is not massacring the people, that it is not the same army that has been massacring the people since 1948. Perhaps it has changed a bit; perhaps the generals or commanders are a little different or the orders are a little different and they are obeying another different class, but it is this "different" class that has massacred the people during four years of this long struggle and will probably continue to do so for many years to come! Yet the representative of Colombia says that there is nothing there to liberate.

Does not the representative of Colombia remember that in Marquetalia there are forces which the Colombian press has called the independent republic of Marquetalia? The leader of those forces has been given a nickname "Hot Shot", to try to make him appear as a common brigand. A large military operation was carried out by 16,000 men of the Colombian army, with U .S. military American advisers, using whole series of weapons such as helicopters and probably, although I cannot confirm it, U. S. aircraft as well.

Furthermore, the representative of Colombia stated quite openly that if Cuba had continued in the orbit of the American States, things would be quite different now. We do not know what he meant by this word "orbit". But we know that satellites have orbits and we are not a satellite. We will not be in anyone's orbit. We are in fact, out of orbit! Naturally, if we had been in the orbit of the American States, we would have spoken here in honeyed tones; we would have used very high-flown Spanish, full of fine adjectives. We would have spoken of the beauties of the inter-American system and its unshakable defense of the free world, directed by the centre of that orbit —and everyone knows where that centre is; I need not specify.

The representative of Venezuela also used a very moderate tone of voice —but he was emphatic. He said that the charges of genocide were infamous and that it was incredible that the Government of Cuba should mix in Venezuelan affairs when there is such repression taking place in its own country. We wish to state here what is a well-known truth, something which we have always said to the world; yes, we are executing; yes, we have executed; we shall continue to execute as long as that is necessary. Our struggle is a struggle to the death. We know what the result would be if the battle were lost in Cuba today. We are living in these conditions because of Yankee imperialism. But this is a fact: we do not commit assassinations, whereas at the present time assassinations are being committed by the Venezuelan political police, which, if I am not mistaken, is called Digepol. That police has committed a series of barbarous acts, executions, assassinations and has then thrown away the corpses. Students for example, have been treated in this way.

The free press of Venezuela has been suspended at various times recently for having published news of that kind. Venezuelan military aircraft, with Yankee advice, has bombed large areas in the countryside killing peasants. Yes, the popular re-

bellion in Venezuela is growing, and we shall see the results before long.

The representative of Venezuela is indignant. I recall the indignation of the representatives of Venezuela when the Cuban delegation at Punta del Este read the secret report which the United States services sent to us in an indirect manner. On that occasion we read out before the meeting at Punta del Este the United States representatives opinion of the Venezuela Government. They announced something very interesting. I cannot give an exact quotation, but it was to this effect: "Either these people will change or they will all go to the wall." That is the way they describe the Cuban revolution —they speak of the "wall" against which executions take place. The members of the United States Embassy announced in irrefutable documents that execution was the destiny of the Venezuelan oligarchy if it did not change its methods! Many terrible accusations were made along those lines. The Venezuelan delegation were very indignant. Naturally, it was not indignant at the United States; is was indignant at the Cuban delegation which was good enough to read out the opinion of the United States about the Government of Venezuela and its people! The only answer to all this was that Mr. Moscoso, who was gracious enought to make these documents available indirectly, was shifted to another post.

We recall these things to the representative of Venezuela, to show that revolutions are not exportable. Revolution means action, and the Venezuelan revolution will begin to acting and move in its own time and those who do not have an aeroplane ready to flee to Miami or elsewhere will have to face up to the people's decisions; and they will not be able to put the blame on other Governments for what happens in Venezuela. The representative of Venezuela may, if he is interested, read some very interesting opinions about what guerrilla war is and how to combat it, which some of the most intelligent elementes of Copey's Party have written and published in the Venezuela press. He will see that it is not with bombs and assassinations that one can combat a people that has taken up arms. On the contrary, that is precisely what makes people even more revolutionary. We know that very well. It is not a good idea to give an enemy this opportunity to learn what guerrilla tactics are, but we give this advice because we know he is so blind he will not follow it.

We now come to Mr. Stevenson. Unfortunately, he is not here. We understand why he is not present. We have once again heard his important and serious statements so worthy of an intellectual of his rank. Equally serious, emphatic weighty statements were made by him in the First Committee on 15 9pril, 1961. On that day pirate aircraft coming from Nicaragua or perhaps from Guatemala —it was not made very clear— bearing Cuban markings bombed Cuban airports and almost knocked out our air force. The aircraft, after carrying out their cowardly mission, landed in the United States. When we made our statement, Mr. Stevenson said something very interesting. I apologize for this long statement bu I think we should

recall once again that very fine statement this distinguished intellectual Mr. Stevenson made only four or five days before Mr. Kennedy quite calmly told the world that he assumed all the responsibility for the events which occurred in Cuba. I believe this is a summary, as we have not had time to obtain the verbatim record of that meeting. Mister Stevenson stated that:

> "The Cuban representative's charges against the United States concerning the bombing attacks reported to have been carried out on Havana and Santiago airports and on Cuban Air Force headquarters at San Antonio de los Baños were wholly unfounded."

Mr. Stevenson rejected them categorically:

> "As the President of the United States had said, there would not under any conditions be any intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces, and the United States would do everything in its power to ensure that no American participated in any action against Cuba."

One year later we were kind enough to return the corpse of an aviator who fell in Cuban territory.

> "So far as the events which had purportedly occurred that morning and the previous day, were concerned —Mr. Stevenson continued— the United States would consider requests for political asylum in accorance with its usual practices. Those who believed in freedom and sought asylum from tyranny and oppression would always receive sympathetic understanding and consideration from the American people and the United States Government."

He continued in this vein throughout his long oration.

Two days after Brigade 2506 lanted at Playa Girón, that "heroic" Brigade surrendered, with the loss of hardly a single man. Then began that tournament of men wearing uniforms of counter-revolutionaries which the United States gave them, saying that they were cooks, nurses, and so on, and that they were sailors on that expedition! That was when President Kennedy made a worthy gesture. He did not attempt to carry on a farce in which no one believed, and he said clearly that he assumed responsability for everything that had happened in Cuba. He took the responsability, but the Organization of American States did not assume any responsability of any kind. In view of the history of that organization and the history of the United States, it was obvious that the Organization of American States was "in orbit" and did not have time to take up these matters.

I am grateful to Mr. Stevenson for his reference to my long life as a communist and revolutionary which has culminate in Cuba. As always, United States agencies, those of the press and those of espionage, confuse matters. My history as a revolutionary is a short one and it actually began with the Granma and continues to this moment.

I did not belong to the communist

party unitil I was in Cuba, and we can all praise before this Assembly that Marxism-Leninism which the Cuban revolution follows. The important thing was not this personal reference; violation of laws, that the planes do not leave from the United States, that the ships do not leave from the United States, that these pirate attacks and so forth simply spring from nowhere. He says all this with the same assurance, in the same voice of calm and collected tone of the intellectual, which he used en 1961 when he said emphatically that those "Cuban" planes had left from Cuba territory, and that they were political exiles. Before being given the lie again, my distinguished colleague, Mr. Stevenson thought it best to retire from this Assembly Hall.

The United States claims that it can carry out these surveillance flights because the Organization of American States approved the flights. What is this Organization of the American States to approve surveillance flights over the territory of a country? What role does the United Nations plays? Why do we have the United Nations if our destiny is to depend on the "orbit", as the representative of Colombia defined it so well, of the Organization of American States? This is a very serious and important question which we must bring before this Assembly. Because we, a small country, cannot agree in any way that a big country has the right to violate our airspace, even if it claims that its acts have been backed up by the Organization of American States, an organization which expelled Cuba and with which we have no connection whatsoever. The representative of the United States has made very serious statements.

I would like to make only two small points. I do not want to take up any more time of the Assembly with these replies and counter-replies.

The representative of the United States says that Cuba blames its economic disaster on the blockade, when it is really a question of misadministration on the part of the Government of Cuba. When the first nationalization laws were passed in Cuba, the United States began to take repressive economic actions, such as the unilateral cancellation of the sugar quota which we traditionally sold to the American market. The United States also refused to refine the petroleum which we had bought from the Soviet Union in full use of our legitimate rights and covered by all possible laws.

I will not repeat the long history of United States economic agression. But I will say that, in spite of these aggressions and with the fraternal assistance of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, we have managed to make progress and we will continue to do so; although we condemn the economic blockade, we will not be stopped by that blockade, and no matter what happens, we will continue to be a slight torment to these Assembly sessions when we come and speak bluntly when we call the United States the policeman of repression throughout the world.

Finally, there was an embargo on medicine to Cuba. But if there is no

blockade of medicine, the Government of Cuba in the coming months will place an order for medicine in the United States, and we will send a telegram to Mr. Stevenson, which our representative will read in the Committee or in any place which may be convenient, so that it can be very well known whether or not there is any truth to the accusations that Cuba makes. In any case, up to the present time, it has been true. The last time was attempted to buy medicine to the value of $1.500,000 medicines which are not manufactured in Cuba and which ar necessary only to save lives, the U.S. Government intervened and prevented that sale.

A few months ago, the President of Bolivia said to our representatives, with tears in his eyes, that he had to break relations with Cuba because the United States had forced him to do so. And because of this, our representatives had to leave La Paz. I can not state that this assertion on the part of the President of Bolivia was true; but what is true is that we said that such a compromise with the enemy would be worth nothing because he was already condemned. The President of Bolivia, with whom we did not and do not have any connection and with whose government we had only the relations which should be maintained with the peoples of America, has been defeated and overthrown in a military coup d'etat; and now a junta has been established in Bolivia.

For such people who do not know how to fall with dignity, it is worth making this reference —I think it was made by the mother of the last caliph of Granada to her son, who was weeping over the loss of the city: "Do not weep like a woman for what you did not know how to defend as a man".

ON DECEMBER 13TH MINISTER OF INDUSTRIES, MAJOR ERNESTO GUEVARA, WAS INTERVIEWED FOR "FACE THE NATION", A C.B.S. TV PROGRAM, BY C.B.S. NEWSMEN PAUL NIVEN AND RICHARD C. HOTTELET, AND TAD SZULC, OF THE "NEW TIMES" OFFICE

Mr. Niven: Major Guevara, in your speech to the General Assembly the day before yesterday you accused the United States of helping Cuba's neighbors prepare new aggressions against her. We, in turn, have often accused your government of abetting subversion in other Latin American countries.

Do you see any way out of this situation, any way to improve relations?

Major Guevara: With regard to solutions I think there is only one. We have said repeatedly to the government of the United States that we want nothing more than that they forget us, that they do not concern themselves about us one way or the other.

Announcer: From New York City, "Face the Nation", a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Cuban Minister of Industry. Major Guevara will be questioned by CBS News United Nations Correspondent Richard C. Hottelet, Tad Szulc of the Washington Bureau of The New York Times and CBS News Correspondent Paul Niven.

Mr. Niven: Major Guevara, we have more questions about Cuba's relations with this country and with the Communist countries and about your own internal situation. We'll resume in just a moment.

Mr. Niven: Major Guevara, you said a momento ago you would simply like us Americans to forget Cuba. Your speech the other day suggested that you can't forget us; you consider us a hostile government ninety miles away. How can you expect us to forget you?

Major Guevara: I didn't say exactly that I expected you to forget us. You asked for a solution and I said what that solution was at the present moment. Whether it's possible or not, is another question.

Mr. Szulc: Mr. Guevara, on several occasions recently Premier Fidel Castro has suggested in interviews with visiting newspapermen, and on other occasions, that a new effort be made to normalize relations between Cuba and the United States, particularly in the field of trade and exchanges. As an economist, do you feel that resumption of relations of this nature would be useful or welcome for Cuba? In other words, would you like to see relations normalized?

Major Guevara: Not as an economist, because I have never considered myself an economist. But only as an official of the Cuban government, as another Cuban, I think harmonious relations with the United States would be very good for us from the economic point of view more than in any other field, because all our industry has been established by the United States, and raw materials and spare parts that we have to make with much difficulty or to bring from other areas could come directly and, besides, sugar, for which traditionally we had the American market, is also nearby.

Mr. Szulc: Major, if my recollection is right, in 1960 you made several speeches, particularly one in March 1960, saying that for Cuba to go on selling sugar to the United States was a form of colonialism to which Cuba was subjected. Have you changed your mind about this?

Major Guevara: Naturally, because at that time conditions were different. We sold sugar with the specific conditions established by American buyers, which in turn dominated the internal market and production in Cuba. Now, if we would sell sugar to the United States, it would be the Cuban government who would sell it, and all the benefits would accrue to our people.

Mr. Hottelet: Dr. Guevara, Washington has said there are two political conditions for the establishment of normal relations between the United States and Cuba. One is the abandonment of your military commitment to the Soviet Union. The other is the abandonment of the policy of exporting revolution to Latin America.

Do you see any chance of a change in either of these two points?

Major Guevara: We place absolutely no conditions of any kind on the United States. We don't ask that it change its system. We don't ask that racial discrimination cease in the United States. We place no conditions on the establishment of relations, but neither do we accept conditions...

Mr. Hottelet: But my question is, whether you would accept these conditions placed by the United States on the resumption of normal relations.

Major Guevara: We will not accept any conditions whatever from the United States. We will accept no conditions whatever imposed by the United States on us.

Mr. Hottelet: But in the matter of the missiles, the Russian missiles on Cuba and the Cuban military relations with the Soviet Union, how can the United States be sure that Cuba is not a strategic threat once again? Would you accept United Nations' inspection or inspection by the Organization of American States if you do not permit on-site inspection of Cuba?

Major Guevara: You spoke about the Organization of American States. The day before yesterday, the Colombian delegate spoke about the orbit of the OAS. It is, in effect, an orbit which gyrates around the United States. An inspection by such delegates would be inspection by the United States.

You say that the United States doesn't feel secure, and we ask the United States: do we feel secure that there are no missiles against Cuba? We cannot reach a harmonious solution unless all countries are considered equal in the world. Let's inspect all bases, atomic bases of the Unted States, and let's inspect also what we have in Cuba and, if you want, let's liquidate all atomic bases in Cuba and in the United States, and we are in complete agreement with that.

Mr. Niven: Major, are you, in fact, trying to export your revolution? Are you every day shipping arms to other Latin American countries? Are you bringing revolutionaries from other countries to Cuba, and then sending them home?

Major Guevara: I also had an opportunity to say at the Assembly, and I can repeat it emphatically now: revolutions are not exportable. Revolutions are created by oppressive conditions which Latin American countries exercise against their peoples, and from that comes rebellion and, afterwards, new Cubas will emerge.

We are not the ones who create revolutions. It's the imperialist system and its allies, internal allies, who create revolution.

Mr. Niven: But does not your attitude toward the present government of Venezuela, which is considered in many other countries leftist and progressive, suggest that you consider any government oppressive which is not Communist?

Major Guevara: Absolutely not. We consider that the Venezuelan government is not a leftist government. It's a murderous government. It murdered patriots in the peasant fights in the region of Falcon, where there are military advisers of the United States.

The government of Venezuela today, in spite of the fact that the American press does not reveal it —is not a leftist government!

Mr. Niven: Is there any government in this hemisphere which Cuba considers to be progressive?

Major Guevara: The word "progressive" is an ambiguous word. There is one government with which we keep diplomatic relations, the government of Mexico with which we have good relations. Our systems are different. We respect their system. We are in complete harmony up to the present and I have the hope that it will continue like that.

But if you ask me for my view of Latin America, there are some countries which oppress their peoples more than others and among the least oppressive, with which we could have perfectly normal relations without any difficulties, are Uruguay, Chile, maybe Costa Rica, but the United States do not permit this.

Mr. Hottelet: But all these countries have broken diplomatic relations with Cuba. Don't you feel yourself isolated when you have no friend at all in this hemisphere?

Major Guevara: We have many friends, but not among the governments. Our friends are among the people and, in the last instance, the people will be the rulers of those states.

Mr. Szulc: If we may change the geographic scene of friendship or no friendship in the world, you made a visit to Moscow in November, last month, since the change in the Summit leadership. We've had the impression here that the government of Cuba had taken a rather unclear position on the difficulties between the Soviet Union and China, ideologically. Could you tell us whether as a result of your visit it is clearer or easier for the government of Cuba to adopt a clear position in relation to the Soviet-Chinese problem?

Major Guevara: You may have the impression that our attitude is not clear but we have the impression that our attitude is very clear. Actually, there is a conflict, an ideological conflict, which we all know about. We have stated our position about the unity among socialist states. Unity is the first measure and we have always maintained that unity is necessary, because disunity favors the United States which is our enemy and everything favoring the enemy must be eliminated. That's why we are in favor of unity.

"We feel there is a necessity to strengthen this unity and that it will be strengthened and the monolithic bloc of socialist countries will be formed again.

Mr. Szulc: Earlier this year —I believe it was first in March and again in June— the Soviet government, which then had Premier Khrushchev at its head, issued invitations to a number of Communist or Marxist-Leninist Parties in the world, including the Cuban Socialist Party or rather, the Cuban Party of the Socialist Revolution to attend a preparatory meeting in Moscow of Communist Parties.

"My memory is that the Cuban Party is one of the very few never to have answered the invitation. We see today that the Soviet government has renewed the invitation for a March preparatory meeting of Communist or Marxist-Leninist countries. Would your government now accept, or your party now accept the Soviet invitation?

Major Guevara: It will be studied at the proper moment and we'll give the reply. This is an invitation which is not made to the government, but to the party and the party is the one who has to answer. I am now here representing the government.

Mr. Hottelet: Major Guevara, you are probably the outstanding exponent of guerrilla war in the

western hemisphere and you have said that the problems of revolution in Latin America will be settled by bullets rather than ballots and, in general, your dynamic approach to these things seems to run much closer to the Communist line, Chinese Communist line. Also, Cuba has never signed the treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in outer space, the atmosphere and in the sea. This is also the Chinese Communist position.

"Doesn't that put you really, in terms of your practical behavior and policy, on the Chinese side of the Communist fence?

Major Guevara: Well, there are three or four questions in one. I will try on answer them one by one. In the first place, there is a statement I would like to deny, or maybe the translation wasn't accurate. According to what I heard you say, I am the exponent of the guerrilla war concept in this hemisphere. I am not the exponent of guerrilla warfare in this hemisphere. That exponent would be Fidel Castro who was the leader of our revolution and who had the most outstanding role in the direction of the revolutionary struggle, and the strategy of the Cuban Government. As regards the two other specific questions, we do not have to participate in the ideological controversy because there are very specific problems. We do not discuss the problem of peaceful transition to Socialism as a theoretical question; in America it's very difficult, nearly impossible. That is why specifically in America we say that the road to the liberation of the peoples, which will be the road of Socialism, will pass through bullets in almost all countries. And I quite calmly make a prophecy that you will see it!

With regards to the problem of signing the new test ban treaty, we welcomed that step as a measure which tended to prevent the aggravation of tensions, but we pointed out very clearly that, with an American military base in our territory where there could be any sort of weapons, and having to endure every kind of provocation, including flights over our territory, we cannot sign that treaty because it would be a betrayal of our people. That's independent of the fact that we welcome the treaty in its worldwide terms as beneficial to the world, but only as a step. We cannot stop here. We must go forward if we want to prevent a world war.

Mr. Szulc: You have been over the years, I believe, a very articulate and candid critic, yourself, of that which was occurring with the Cuban economy. I have read your speeches in which you have criticezed the errors in policies and errors in judgment. Now that you're approaching the seventh year of your revolution, would you try to assess for us briefly just what has happened to the economy in your country? Do you feel that you might begin to rise from the point where you have been? What prognosis of the economy would you make for 1965? Will it be the seventh lean year or not necessarily?

Major Guevara: It's very difficult question to answer in a very short time. You are bombarding me with questions of all kinds for me to ans-

wer instanteously. I'll try to be very concise and try to explain what I can to the American people. We naturally made many errors in the economic field. I am not the critic. It is Fidel Castro who has criticized repeatedly the errors we have made, and he has explained why we have made them. We were not previously prepared. We fell into errors in agriculture and in industry. All these errors are now being corrected. In industry we are now concentrating our best efforts on trying to make plants work at a maximum capacity; trying to replace the equipment which is in bad condition due to lack of spare parts from the United States, which we cannot get from the United States; we are trying to extend our industry on the basis of our natural resources, and to lessen our dependency on external markets, and to dedicate our efforts in 1965 to the security and hygiene of work to make our plants better for the worker, so that the worker may really feel a fuller man. We have taken over plants from the capitalist system where the most important thing especially in Cuba, was to produce. I do not say that factories, industries in the United States are now places of exploitation where man is oppressed. I know that the American worker has many advantages but those advantages in Cuba were not achieved, and conditions are very bad, not healthy. We have to dedicate our efforts to improve the life, the time spent by the worker in the industrial plant. That will be one of our main efforts during the next year.

Mr. Hottelet: Dr. Guevara, you have protested against the presence of the American naval base at Guantanamo and the continued American reconnaisance flights over Cuba. Will you take any military action either against the base or the planes?

Major Guevara: Well, we had to explain at the Assembly the other day that we do not boast. We know the power of the U. S. We do not fool ourselves about this power. We say that the U. S. Government wants us to pay a very high price for the non-peaceful co-existence we enjoy today, and the price we are in a position to pay must not go beyond the frontiers of dignity. If we have to get on our knees in order to live in peace, they will have to kill us first. If they do not want to go that far, then we will continue to live in the best way possible in this non-peaceful co-existence which we have today with the United States.

Mr. Niven: What does that mean in terms of practical diplomacy, Major? What do you propose to do?

Major Guevara: We have denounced in all assemblies, in all places where we have had the opportunity to speak, the illegality of flights over our territory and the existence of a U. S. base, against the will of the Cuban people. Furthermore, we have denounced the great number of violations and according to statistics, of daily provocations from that base and we have asked the non-aligned countries and the General Assembly of the United Nations to take measures to prevent things like these.

Mr. Szulc: Could we turn very briefly now to some of the internal political problems in Cuba about

which we hear in this country in a very indirect way, and which intrigue us? We read recently that an outstanding member of the former Communist Party of Cuba, former Senator Ordoqui, had been placed under arrest. We have heard a great deal about the tensiones between the so-called "old line" Communist Party and the 26th of July movement. We learned on Tuesday that Major Augusto Martinez Sanchez, who was a close friend and companion of yours and of Dr. Castro, tried to commit suicide. What is happening internally in Cuba?

Major Guevara: There's nothing happening which we cannot talk about publicly. The fact of the attempted suicide by Augusto Martinez was explained in a concise and exact form by our government in a communique. There is absolutely nothing else to add. I understand that the American people has a right, and especially the press, which is not very friendly to us, to make all sorts of suppositions and speculations absout this fact, this unfortunate fact. There is always the possibility of making speculations but the fact is as we described it. Augusto Martinez Sanchez was dismissed due to administrative problems and his reaction was to attempt suicide. We regret it for his sake, and we regret it for the sake of the revolution because it has given occasion for speculation.

"With regard to the arrest of Mr. Ordoqui, we also stated publicly what we were able to at that moment, and we have said that when the proper time arrives, everything will be explained, or Mr. Ordoqui will have public satisfaction. All our public documents reflect nothing but the truth.

Mr. Niven: Major, may I ask you what percentage of the people of Cuba support the revolution? We have ten seconds.

Major Guevara: It's very difficult in ten seconds. At the present time we do not have elections, but a great majority of the Cuban people support this government.

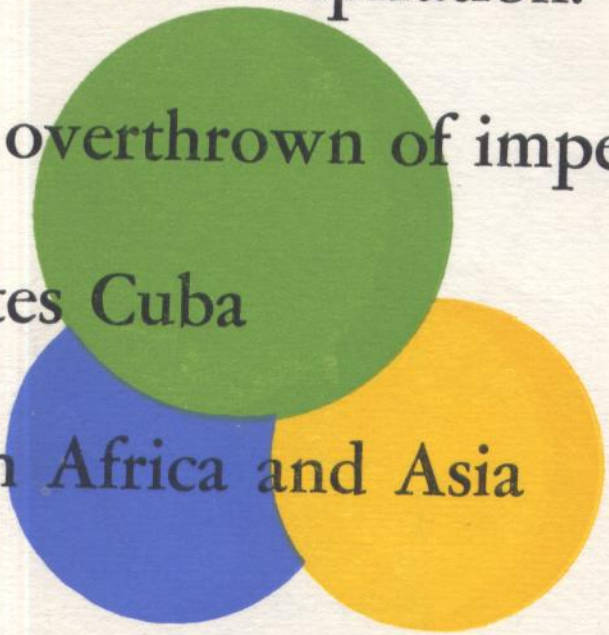
Mr. Niven: Thank you, Major Guevara for being here to "Face the Nation".

A common aspiration:

the overthrown of imperialism,

unites Cuba

with Africa and Asia



A common aspiration: the overthrow of imperialism, unites Cuba with Africa and Asia

- *The Speech given by Commandant Ernesto Guevara, the Minister of Industry of Cuba, at the Second Afro-asian Economic Conference, held in Algeria from the 22nd to 27th February, 1965.*
- *General Declaration of the Conference.*

The Republic of Cuba
The Foreign Ministry
Information Department

(-2-)

I

Dear Brothers:

Cuba attends this Conference to raise on her own the voice of the peoples of America, and as we have emphasized on other occasions also, in her condition as an under-developed nation, which is, at the same time, building Socialism.

It is not by accident that our representation is permitted to give its opinion among the peoples of Asia and Africa. A common aspiration unites us in our march toward the future: the defeat of imperialism. A common past of struggle against the same enemy has united us along the road.

This is an assembly of struggling peoples, and this struggle is being developed on two equally important fronts which require all our efforts. The struggle against imperialism for liberation from colonial and neo-colonial bonds carried out by political arms, firearms, or a combination of both, is not disconnected from the struggle against backwardness and poverty; both are steps on the same road leading toward the creation of a new society, rich and just at the same time.

It is imperative to take the political power, and to liquidate the oppressor classes, but then, the second stage of the struggle must be faced, which, perhaps, may have more difficult features than the previous one.

Ever since monopoly capital took over the world it has maintained in poverty the greater part of humanity, dividing all profits among the group of the most powerful countries. The standard of living of those countries is based on the misery of ours. Thus, in order to raise the standard of living of under-developed peoples, there must be a fight against imperialism. And each time a country is removed from the imperialist tree, it is not only a partial battle won against the main enemy, but it is also a contribution to its real weakening, and taking a step toward the final victory.

There are no boundaries in this struggle to the death. We cannot remain indifferent to what happens anywhere in the world, for

a victory of any country over imperialism is a victory for us, and likewise, a defeat of any nation is a defeat for all. The practising of proletarian internationalism is not only a duty of the peoples struggling for a better future, but it is, besides, an unavoidable necessity. If the imperialist enemy, American or any other, unfolds his actions against the underdeveloped peoples and against the socialist countries, simple logic determines the need of an alliance between the under-developed peoples and the socialist countries. If there were no other uniting factor, the common enemy should be it.

Of course, this union cannot be made spontaneously, without discussions, without a preceding childbirth which at times is very painful.

Each time a country is freed, we say, it is a defeat for the world imperialist system, but we must agree that the removal does not happen by the mere fact of proclaiming independence or by obtaining an armed victory in a revolution. Freedom takes place when the imperialist economic domination ceases to be practised on a people.

Therefore, it is in the interest of the socialist countries, as a vital question, that these removals take place. And it is our international duty, the duty determined by our guiding ideology, to contribute with our efforts to the most rapid and profound liberation.

A conclusion must be reached from all this: the development of countries now starting on the road to liberation should be paid for by the socialist countries. We state it this way without any intention of blackmail or dramatics whatsoever, nor looking for an easy way of getting closer to all the Afro-Asiatic peoples, but as a profound conviction. Socialism cannot exist without a change in conscience provoking a new fraternal attitude toward humanity, both for the individual in the society building socialism or when it has been built, and world-wide in relation to all peoples suffering imperialist oppression.

We believe the responsability of aiding dependent countries should be approached with such a spirit and there should not be any more talk about developing trade for mutual benefit based on prices rigged against underdeveloped countries by the law of values and international relations of unequal exchange brought about by that law of values.

How can one call "mutual benefit" to the selling at world market prices raw materials costing limitless sweat and suffering to the under-developed countries and buying machinery produces in large automatic factories of the present age?

If we establish that type of relations between the two groups of nations, we must agree that the socialist countries are, in a way, accomplices of imperialist exploitation.

It can be argued that the amount of exchange with underdeveloped countries is an insig-

nificant part of the foreign trade of those countries. It is a great truth, but it does not eliminate the immoral character of the trade.

The socialist countries have the moral duty of liquidating their tacit complicity with the exploiter countries of the West. The fact that trade is small today does not mean much. In 1959 Cuba sold sugar only occasionally to a socialist-block country, through English brokers or brokers of other nationalities mostly.

Today eighty per cent of her trade is with that area; all of her vital supplies come from the socialist camp and, in fact, she has joined that camp. We cannot say that this has been brought about by the mere increase in trade, nor that trade has increased by the destruction of the old order and the embracing of the socialist form of development; both extremes touch each other and are inter-related.

We did not undertake the path that ends in communism foreseeing all steps as a logical product of ideological development that will advance with a determined goal. Socialist truths plus the naked truths of imperialism forged our people and taught them the path which we consciously adopted later. The peoples of Africa and Asia heading to their definite liberation should take the same path. They will follow it sooner or later although their socialism may take any defining adjective today.

There is no other definition of socialism valid for us than the abolition of exploitation of man by man. As long as this has not been achieved we are in the stage of building the socialist society, and if instead of this phenomenon, the task of suppression of exploitation comes to a halt, or even recedes, it is not valid even to speak of the building of socialism.

We have to prepare conditions so that our brothers directly and consciously take the path of the decisive abolition of exploitation, but we cannot ask them to take that path if we ourselves are accomplices of such exploitation. If we were asked what are the methods for establishing equitable prices, we could not answer, because we do not know the practical magnitude of that question. We only know that after political discussions, the Soviet Union and Cuba have signed advantageous agreements for us, by means of which, we will sell five milion tons of sugar at fixed prices above those of the so-called free world sugar market. The People's Republic of China also pays those prices.

This is only the groundwork, the real task consists in establishing prices permitting development. A great change of conception will be to change the order of international relations; foreign trade should not determine policy but, on the contrary, it should be subordinated to a fraternal policy toward the peoples. Let us analize briefly the problem of long-term credits for developing basic industries. We find frequently that beneficiary countries are willing to install industrial plants

too large for their actual possibilities and whose products will not be consumed in their territories, and compromising their reserves in the effort. Our reasoning is that socialist states investments in their own territories weigh directly on the state budget and are only recovered by the use of the products in the elaboration process up to the very end of manufacturing. We propose that some thought be given to the possibility of making this type of investments in under-developed countries.

This way an immense underlying force in our continents, miserably exploited but never aided in their development could be put into motion and to begin a new stage of authentic international division of work, not based on the history of what has been done up to now, but based on the future history of what can be done.

The States in whose territories the new investments are to be made, will have all the inherent rights of sovereign property over them, without any payments or credits. The possessor being obliged to supply determined quantities of products to the investing countries during certain number of years and at certain prices.

The method for financing the local part of the expenses incurred by the country engaged in investments of this kind is worthy of study also. The supplying of marketable goods on long-term credits to governments of under-developed countries would be one form of aid not requiring the expenditure of freely convertible funds. Another of the difficult problems to solve is the mastering of technique. The lack of technicians under-developed countries are facing, is well known by all. Institutes of learning and cadres are lacking. Active awareness of our requirements, and the decision to implement with first priority a policy of technical, cultural and ideological development are sometimes also lacking.

The socialist countries should supply the aid for organizing centers for technical training, to insist on the great importance of this and to supply technicians to fill the present need.

It is necessary to insist further on this last point. Technicians coming to our countries must be exemplary. They are comrades who must face a strange environment, often hostile to technique, speaking a different language and with totally different costumes. The technicians facing the difficult task, should be, first of all, Communists in the most profound and noble sense of the word. With this single quality, plus a minimum of organization and flexibility, wonders will be done.

We know it can be done because brother countries have sent us a certain number of technicians who have done more toward the development of our country than ten institutes, and have contributed more to our friendship than ten ambassadors or one hundred diplomatic receptions.

If we could achieve the points noted, and also put within the reach of under-developed countries all the technology of the advanced countries, without using the present method of patents covering the discoveries of different countries, we would progress a great deal in our common task.

Imperialism has been defeated in many partial battles. But, it is a considerable force in the world, and we cannot expect its final defeat, except through the effort and sacrifice of all of us.

The aggregate measures proposed, however, cannot be taken unilaterally. The development of under-developed countries should be paid for by the socialist countries, we agree. But the forces of the under-developed countries also must be put under tension and firmly take the road of the building of a new society —whatever the name may be— where the machine, instrument of work, may not be an instrument of exploitation of man by man. Neither can the confidence of socialist countries be expected playing on the scales between capitalism and socialism, trying to use both forces as counter-weights in order to gain certain advantages from such competition. A new policy of absolute seriousness should govern the relations between the two groups of societies. It is convenient to emphasize, once more, that the means of production should be, preferably, in the hands of the State, so that the signs of exploitation may gradually disappear.

On the other hand, development cannot be abandoned to absolute improvisation, it is necessary to plan the building of the new society. Planning is one of the laws of socialism, without which it would not exist. Without correct planning there cannot be sufficient guarantee that all the economic sector of anyone country could harmoniously bind themselves to take the forward strides the epoch in which we live demands.

Planning is not an isolated problem of each one of our small countries, distorted in their development, possessors of some raw materials, or producers of some manufactured or semi-manufactured goods, but lacking in most others. From the very first, planning should tend to some regional selection in order to coordinate economies of countries, and thus, to arrive at an integration on the basis of a genuine mutual benefit.

We believe that the present road is full of dangers, dangers not invented or foreseen for a distant future by some superior mind, but the evident results of realities lashing us. The fight against colonialism has reached its final stages, but in the present era the colonial status is only a consequence of imperialist domination. As long as imperialism exists, by definition, it will exert its domination over other countries. That domination is called neo-colonialism today.

Neo-colonialism was developed first in South America, in a whole continent, and today begins to

be noted with increasing intensity in Africa and Asia. Its forms of development and penetration have distinct characteristics. One is the brutal aggression we know of in the Congo. Brute force without any consideration or disguise of any kind is its final weapon. There is another one more subtle: the political penetration in liberated countries, unity with the growing indigenous bourgeoisie, the development of a parasitic bourgeoisie closely linked to metropolitan interest and favored by a certain well-being or a transitory raising of the standard of living of the peoples because in a very backward country the simple step from feudal to capitalist relations implies a great advance notwithstanding the fatal consequences that eventually it may cause the workers.

Neo-colonialism has shown its claws in the Congo. That is not a sign of power but of weakness; it had to revert to force, its final weapon, as an economic argumentation. This engenders opposing reactions of great intensity. But it is also practiced in another series of countries of Africa and Asia in a much more subtle way and is rapidly creating what some have called the Southamericanization of those continents, i.e., the development of a parasitic bourgeoisie adding nothing to the national wealth, but on the contrary, depositing outside the country, in capitalist banks, their huge dishonest profits and dealing with foreigners to obtain more benefits, with absolute disregard for the well-being of their people.

There are also other dangers such as competition between brother countries politically friendly and sometimes neighbors, trying to develop the same investments at the same time and for markets that oftentimes cannot accept the goods. This competition has the disadvantage of wasting energies that could be used for a much greater economic complementation and which permits the imperialist monopolies game.

Faced with the actual impossibility of carrying out a definite investment with the help of the socialist camp, on certain occasions it is done by agreements with the capitalists. And these capitalist investments have not only the disadvantage of the way the loans are made, but also complementary ones of great importance such as the establishment of joint corporations with a dangerous neighbor. As generally investments are parallel to those of other states, they tend to divisions between friendly countries for economic differences, as well as renewing the danger of corruption emanating from the constant presence of capitalism, skillful in the presentation of images of development and well-being that cloud the understanding of many people.

Later on, the consequences of a saturated similar production is the fall of prices in the market. The affected countries find themselves under the obligation of requesting new loans or to permit complementary investments for competition. The falling of the economy into the hands of monop-

olies and a slow but sure return to the past is the final consequence of such a policy. To our understanding , the only sure way of investing with imperialist power participation is for the State to have a direct share as the sole buyer of goods, limiting imperialist action to the contracting of supplies, and not permitting them to go beyond the street door of our house. And here it is just and proper to take advantage of inter-imperialist contradictions in order to secure less burdensome terms.

It is necessary to pay attention to the "disinterested" economic, cultural and other aid imperialism grants directly or by way of puppet states, more welcome in certain parts of the world.

If all the pointed out dangers are not seen in time, the neo-colonial road may be inaugurated in countries that have begun with faith and enthusiasm their task of national liberation, establishing monopoly domination with such a gradual subtlety that it would be difficult to detect it until after its effects have made themselves brutally felt.

There is a whole task to perform. Huge problems confront our two worlds, that of the socialist countries and this one called the third world; problems directly bound to man and his well-being and to the struggle against the main culprit of our backwardness. In the face of them, all countries and peoples aware of their duties, of the dangers implied by the situation, of the sacrifices demanded by development, should take concrete measures to bind our friendship in the two fields —the economic and the political— that can never go on separately. And organize a great compact block which in turn help new countries to free themselves, not only from political power, but from imperialist economic power as well.

The aspect of liberation by arms from the power of a political oppressor should be treated according to the rules of proletarian internationalism. If it is absurd to think that the director of an enterprise in a socialist country at war is doubtful about sending to a front the tanks he produces where there is no guarantee of payment, not less absurd must appear the inquiring about the possibility of payment from a people fighting for liberation or needing arms to defend its freedom. Arms cannot be merchandise in our world, should be delivered without any cost at all, and in the needed and possible quantities, to the peoples asking for them to use against the common enemy. That is the spirit with which the USSR and the People's Republic of China have offered us their military aid. We are socialists, we constitute a guarantee of the utilization of those arms, but we are not the only ones. And all of us should receive the same treatment.

To the ominous attack by American imperialism against Viet-Nam and the Congo, the answer should be the supplying of all the instruments of defense they may need, and to offer them our full

solidarity without any conditions whatsoever.

In the economic aspect, we must conquer the road to development with the most advanced technique available. We cannot follow the long ascending way of humanity from feudalism up to the atomic and automatic era. This would be the road or huge sacrifices and would be partially useless. It is necessary to take the technique wherever it may be, to take the great technical forward leap in order to reduce the difference existing between the more developed countries and ourselves. This should be in the large factories and in a properly developed agriculture also. And above all, it should have its foundation on a technical and ideological culture with enough mass base and power so as to permit the continous nursing of institutes and research institutions that have to be created in each country, and the men using the present technique who may be capable of adapting themselves to the newly mastered techniques.

These cadres must be aware of their duties toward the society in which they live. There could not be an adequate technical culture if it is not complemented by an ideological culture. And in most of our countries a proper foundation for industrial development, which determines the development of a modern society, could not exist if a beginning is not made by securing the necessary food, the most essential consumer goods and adequate education for the people.

A good part of national revenues must be spent on the so called unproductive investment in education and special attention must be given to the development of agricultural productivity. This has reached unbelievable levels indeed in many capitalist countries, provoking the senseless crisis of over-production, invasion of grains and other nutrients or invasion of industrial raw materials originating in advanced countries, when there is a whole world suffering hunger, with enough land and men to produce several times what the entire world needs for feeding itself.

Agriculture must be considered a fundamental pillar for development, and for this, changes in agricultural structure, adjustment to the new technical possibilities and the new duties of the elimination of exploitation of man should be fundamental aspects of the work.

Before making costly decision that could cause irreparable damage, a careful survey of the national territory is needed. This aspect is one of the preliminary steps in economic research and a primary requirement for correct planning.

We warmly support Algeria's proposition for institutionalizing our relations. We only wish to make complementary considerations.

First, for the Union to be an instrument of the struggle against imperialism, the cooperation of

Latin American countries and the alliance of the socialist countries is necessary.

Second, we must be watchful of the revolutionary character of the Union preventing the access of governments or movements not identified with the general aspirations of the people to the Union, and creating mechanisms that permit the separation of anyone deviating from the just road, be it a government or a popular movement.

Third, we must advocate the establishment of new relations creating a revolutionary jurisprudence to defend us in case of conflict and to give new meaning to the relations between us and the rest of the world.

We speak a revolutionary language, and we honestly fight for the triumph of that cause. But many times we entangle ourselves in the nets of an international law created as the result of confrontations of the imperialist powers and not by the struggle of the free peoples, of the just peoples.

Our peoples, for instance, suffer the painful pressure of foreign bases established in their territories, or have to carry the heavy burdens of external debts of incredible magnitude.

The history of these tares is well known to all of us. Puppet governments, governments weakened by long struggles for liberation or the development of the capitalist laws of markets, have permitted the signing of treaties endangering internal stability and compromising our future.

This is the time to shake off the yoke, to impose renegotiation of the oppressive external debts, and to force the imperialists to abandon their bases of aggression.

I woud not want to finish these words, this repetition of concepts you all know, without calling the attention of this seminary to the fact that Cuba is not the only American Socialist country. It simply is the only one that has the opportunity to speak before you today. That other countries are shedding their blood to gain the right we have. And from here, and from all conferences, and from all places where they may be held, with the greetings to the heroic peoples of Viet-Nam, of Laos, of the so-called Portuguese Guinea, of South Africa, or of Palestine, to all exploited countries fighting for their emancipation we should, at the same time, send our voice of friendship, our hand and our breath to our brother peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala and Colombia who today bearing arms, are saying NO! to the imperialist enemy definitively.

And there are few platforms to affirm this as symbolic as Algiers, one of the most heroic capitals of freedom. That the magnificent Algerian people, trained as few in the suffering for independence, under the decisive leadership of their Party, with our dear comrade Ahmed Ben Bella at its head, serve us as an inspiration in this fight without quarters against world imperialism.

II

GENERAL DECLARATION

Preamble:

The Economic Afro-Asian Seminar, held in Algiers Capital of the Democratic and Popular Algerian Republic, from the 22nd till the 27th of February, 1965, is an event of the greatest importance in the common struggle waged by Afro-Asian Peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It constitutes as well a new important type of activity undertaken by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization.

The Economic Seminar attended by delegates from the Afro-Asian countries as well as by observers from Cuba, from the Permanent Bureau of the Asian Economic Seminar, and from the Economic Commission of the OAU was inaugurated by H.E. Ahmed Ben Bella, President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. The participants were unanimous in their sincere thanks to the Algerian People and its government for the precious contribution they had given to the preparation and the success of this Seminar.

The Economic Seminar, warmly hails the struggle of national liberation waged by all the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and colonialism. This struggle is linked with the struggle of the Socialist and Democratic forces in the world, which constantly scores new successes, deals direct blows to the imperialists headed by the U.S.A., and gives a decisive contribution to the cause of world peace and the progress of humanity.

The participants in this Seminary have stressed in their speeches the deep contradiction on political, economic ond military planes, between the imperialist countries and the Afro-Asian countries. The Economic Seminar underlines the fact that poverty and backwardness of Asian, African and Latin American countries are essentially due to systematic plunder perpetrated by the imperialist powers in the African, Asian and Latin American countries.

The participants in the Seminar have discussed the most urgent

problems in relation to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and particularly in the economic field, and have determined the most efficient ways and means to intensify this action.

The Economic Seminar has demonstrated the fact that many Afro-Asian countries, especially the countries which are engaged in the non-capitalist way, have achieved positive results in the economic struggle against imperialism for the construction of an independent national economy.

The Economic Seminar stresses the fact that colonialism, while granting political independence to some countries, maintains economic control in such a way that the development of these countries is seriously handicaped. This domination of economy is done under cover of "aid" and technical "cooperation".

Platform of Action

The participants in the Economic Seminar, after a thorough study of all questions on the agenda and in a spirit of solidarity between Afro-Asian Peoples, have elaborated the following platform of action:

1. **For Intensification of the Struggle of Peoples fighting for National Independence:**
   a) Supply the liberation movements with aid in arms, equipment, finances and formation of military cadres. This aid only constitutes a form of support, as the peoples in struggle must, essentially, depend on their own efforts;
   b) Implement economic boycott and sever diplomatic relations with the colonising countries and lead all the progressive forces of the world and the working masses of the colonial metropoles to refuse participation in loading or unloading of products coming from or destined to Portugal, Israel, South Africa and Northern Rhodesia.
2. **For the Reconstruction of an Independent National Economy:**
   a) To depend essentially on our own forces, on the enthusiasm, dynamism and initiative of the masses.
   b) To reinforce mutual aid and cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit among all Afro-Asian Peoples.
3. To widen the scope of Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples with Latin American peoples; to develop links in all fields with the revolutionary countries in Latin America and particulary Cuba.
4. **To achieve complete Independence:**
   a) To work for economic reconstruction, abolishing all privileges of imperialists;
   b) to implement profound social and economic changes (agrarian reform, nationalization, expanding the bases of planning);

c) to exercise effective control of the vital sectors of national economy;

d) to promote economic relations between Afro-Asian countries on one hand, and developing and socialist countries on the other, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

e) to revise foreign debts. Economic relations between socialist countries and developing Afro-Asian countries should be on the basis of aid without any conditions or interests;

f) to limit economic relations with imperialist countries without severing them entirely and without conditions.

5. To harmonize and improve finances:

a) To study the financial situation inherited from colonialism;

b) to prepare the new bases for loans taking into account the concerns and economic objectives of the countries concerned.

6. **For the Formation and Promotion of Cadres:**

a) To immediately replace and in the most favourable conditions the old colonialist cadres.

b) To form cadres to prepare for and guarantee the reconstruction of a genuine independent national economy.

c) To standardize, through planning, the promotion of cadres in the Afro-Asian countries.

The Economic Seminar reaffirms that its work, in its entirety, exclusively comes within the framework of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Movement, and that its decisions therefore cannot be connected in any way nor influenced by any organ of the UNO.

The Economic Seminar, after consultations, takes note of the Algerian delegation's proposal and proposes to the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Movement to create organs which would study and propose to it solutions to accelerate the political and economic independence of Afro-Asian countries.

The Afro-Asian Economic Seminar Re-affirms:

— Its full support to the people of South Vietnam in its heroic struggle against American imperialism, for independence and democracy, peace and neutrality. The Seminar recognises the National Front of Liberation as the sole and genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam.

— Its firm support to the people of North Vietnam struggling against the military provocations of American imperialists, for safeguarding the country's sovereignty and for peace in Indo-China.

— Its firm support of the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) in its heroic struggle against imperialist interference and aggression.

— Its firm support to the people

of Cuba in its heroic struggle against the provocations and aggressions of American imperialism.

Its firm support to the armed struggle waged by the peoples of Angola, so-called "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique, against Portuguese imperialism and its imperialist accomplices in N.A.T.O., and to the struggle of the Kamerun and other countries for freedom and liberation.

— Its firm support to the peoples of South and South West Africa in their just struggle against racial discrimination and the criminal apartheid policy, and for liberation.

— Its firm support to the struggle of the Zimbabwe people against the racialist regime of the settler minority imposed by force on the African people of Zimbabwe.

— Its firm support to the peoples of Basutoland, Swaziland and the so-called "French" Somaliland as well as the other African peoples in their just struggle for independence and liberty.

— Its firm support to the Palestinian people in its just struggle against Israel, the instrument of imperialism, and for the return of the Arab refugees, as well as to the Cypriot people in its struggle for "self-determination".

— Its firm support to the Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

— Its firm support to the Indonesian people in its just struggle against "Malaysia" the neo-colonialist plan forged by Anglo-American imperialism.

— Its firm support to the people of the Arab South, Aden and Oman, struggling against British imperialism.

— Its firm support to the people of the so-called "French" Somaliland against the oppression and injustice of French Colonialism.

— Its firm support to the armed struggle of the North-Kalimantan people for national liberation.

— Its firm support to the Korean people in its struggle for the cessation of the criminal South-Korean-Japan talks aiming at maintaining the partition of Korea and fabricating the NEATO aggressive bloc, for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea and for realizing the reunification of the country.

Its firm support to the Japanese people in its noble, patriotic and anti-American struggle.

— Its firm support to the Laotian people in its struggle against imperialist intervention and aggression.

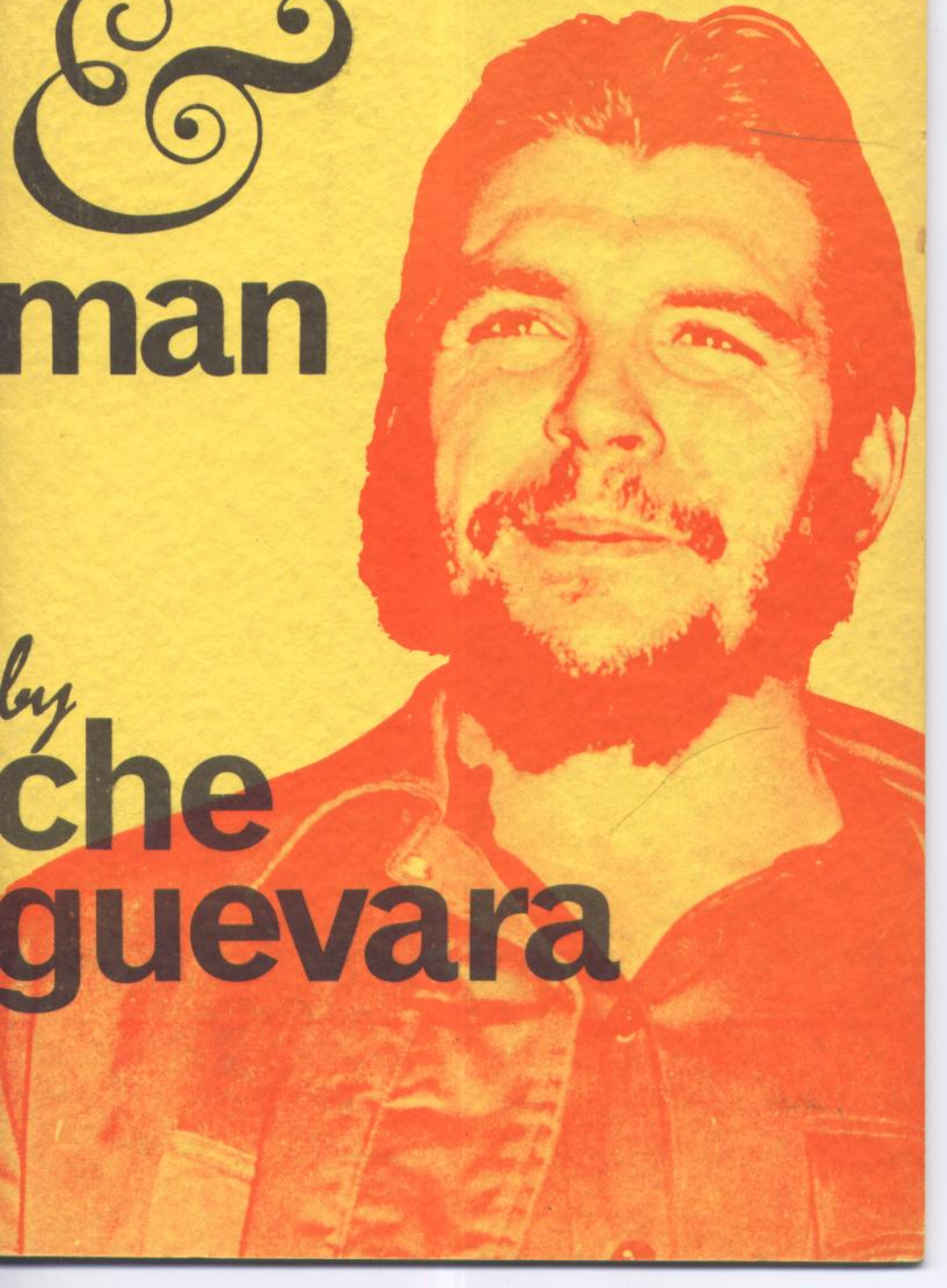
— Its firm support to the Cambodian people in its just struggle against the subversive plots of imperialism.

— Its firm support to the Latin American Peoples in their heroic struggle against imperialism and for national liberation.

The Seminar is fully convinced that if they unite more closely and persevere in the struggle, braving every difficulty and waging till the end, the struggle against imperialism and in particular American imperialism, the peoples of Asia, Africa and other countries of the world will achieve the final victory in their struggle for national liberation.

1966

socialism & man



by

che guevara

Excerpts from
Monthly Review
March - 1966

CHE GUEVARA— THE BOLIVAR OF OUR TIME?

BY EDUARDO GALEANO

He believed in the Latin American Revolution, in its dolorous process, in its destiny; he believed in the new human condition that socialism *must* engender. Whatever subject he spoke of, he gave the impression of a fever rising in his blood; but he would speak more deliberately as soon as he saw me taking notes. Then, his eyes fixed on my scribbling ball-point, he preferred to make sharp, piquant comments, which he uttered while smiling faintly and exhaling puffs of blue smoke from between his thick mustache and his scanty beard. I almost regretted being a journalist, not because of the vertiginous days and the ~~sleepless nights but because the~~ easy, lucid ~~flow of communica~~tion between us was always cut short by the fact of my profession.

Perhaps it is a matter of verb tenses—or I don't know what else—that what I have written so far reads like an obituary. However, I wish to think of him as alive. In spite of the mystery that still surrounds his disappearance, various assertions, credible to me, have been made that he is not dead, that he is waiting somewhere in hiding for the opportunity to make a spectacular reappearance on the scene of revolution on the continent. Others maintain that he is no longer alive;

Eduardo Galeano is the editor of the Montevideo newspaper *Epoca*.

they base themselves on his wife's appearance in mourning clothes on the occasion of Fidel's public reading of Che's farewell letter, and on the length of time that elapsed before the letter was made public. Perhaps, perhaps yes and perhaps no. It may be that this *simpático* guerrilla fighter, doctor, poet, "citizen of America" by his own definition, may not be seen again; but it may also be that one of these days the newspapers will dedicate their columns to the resurrection of this man who may be the Bolivar of our time. For the moment only his spirit is abroad, unleashing panic in those who rule the uneasy domains below the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande).

"One day they came by," said the letter to Fidel, "asking who should be notified in case of death, and the real possibility of that eventuality struck us all. Afterwards, we realized it was true that in a revolution, if it is a real one, you either win or die." In search of new victories or death, he has left Cuba. "Other lands in the world need the contribution of my modest efforts," the letter said, ". . . new fields of battle." Yes, there in the heart of the storm, in the struggle, you win or you die. "Under other skies," now. Others, his friends, so many friends had fallen; they will continue to fall. "El Patojo," for example, who had been with him during the difficult times in Mexico. (Be wary, always be wary, Che had advised him: he was killed, betrayed by an old school friend.) The Argentine Massetti, too, who disappeared, wounded in the Salta mountains.

He was *totally* committed—"as one must be"—to the difficult task of building socialism in Cuba. Of all the leaders he was the most austere and bore the closest resemblance, in his capacity for sacrifice, to the Christians of the catacombs. Convinced as he was that the mystique of socialism on the march and the faith of the people in the new world aborning should be the motive force of development, he rejected the excessive use of material incentives and of systems of payment which might give each person the hope of "becoming a Rockefeller."

It was clear to see that Che was not a "desk man"; he was a *maker* of revolutions, and I hope he continues to be one. He was not an administrator; more precisely, he was an administrator in spite of himself. Beneath the calm, contained exterior there was the tension of a caged lion which was bound to explode eventually.

2

Notes on Socialism and Man

By Che Guevara

Note: This article was published in Spanish in Havana in Verde Olivo Revolucion and as part of a collection Cuadernos Erre. This pamphlet is reproduced from the translation which appeared in the Winter - 1966 issue International Socialist Revue.

This article was translated by Gerald Paul from the July 1 issue of the Mexican radical bi-weekly, Politica. *It was written by Che Guevara during his trip through Africa in the form of a letter to Carlos Quijano of the Uruguayan independent radical weekly* Marcha.

Though belatedly, I am completing these notes in the course of my trip through Africa, hoping in this way to keep my promise. I would like to do so by dealing with the theme set forth in the above title. I think it may be of interest to Uruguayan readers.

A common argument from the mouths of capitalist spokesmen, in the ideological struggle against

socialism, is that socialism, or the period of building socialism into which we have entered, is characterized by the subordination of the individual to the state. I will not try to refute this argument solely on theoretical grounds, but I will try to establish the facts as they exist in Cuba and then add comments of a general nature. Let me begin by sketching the history of our revolutionary struggle before and after the taking of power:

As is well known, the exact date on which the revolutionary struggle began — which would culminate January 1st, 1959 — was the 26th of July, 1953. A group of men commanded by Fidel Castro attacked the Moncada barracks in Oriente Province on the morning of that day. The attack was a failure; the failure became a disaster; and the survivors ended up in prison, beginning the revolutionary struggle again after they were freed by an amnesty.

In this stage, in which there was only the germ of socialism, man was the basic factor. We put our trust in him — individual, specific, with a first and last name — and the triumph or failure of the mission entrusted to him depended on his capacity for action.

Then came the stage of guerrilla struggle. It developed in two distinct elements, the people, the still sleeping mass which it was necessary to mobilize; and its vanguard, the guerrillas, the motor force of the movement, the generator of revolutionary consciousness and militant enthusiasm. It was this vanguard, this catalyzing agent, which created the subjective conditions necessary for victory.

Here again, in the course of the process of proletarianizing our thinking, in this revolution which took place in our habits and our minds, the individual was the basic factor. Every one of the fighters of the Sierra Maestra who reached an upper rank in the revolutionary forces has a record of outstanding deeds to his credit. They attained their rank on this basis. It was the first heroic period and in it they contended for the heaviest responsibilities, for the greatest dangers, with no other satisfaction than fulfilling a duty.

In our work of revolutionary education we frequently return to this instructive theme. In the attitude of our fighters could be glimpsed the man of the future.

On other occasions in our history the act of total dedication to the revolutionary cause was repeated.

During the October crisis and in the days of Hurricane Flora we saw exceptional deeds of valor and sacrifice performed by an entire people. Finding the formula to perpetuate this heroic attitude in daily life is, from the ideological standpoint, one of our fundamental tasks.

In January 1959 the Revolutionary Government was established with the participation of various members of the treacherous bourgeoisie. The existence of the Rebel Army as the basic factor of force constituted the guarantee of power.

Serious contradictions developed subsequently. In the first instance, in February 1959, these were resolved when Fidel Castro assumed leadership of the government with the post of Prime Minister. This stage culminated in July of the same year with the resignation under mass pressure of President Urrutia.

There now appeared in the history of the Cuban Revolution a force with well-defined characteristics which would systematically reappear — the mass.

This many faceted agency is not, as is claimed, the sum of units of the self-same type, behaving like a tame flock of sheep, and reduced, moreover, to that type by the system imposed from above. It is true that it follows its leaders, basically Fidel Castro, without hesitation; but the degree to which he won this trust corresponds precisely to the degree that he interpreted the people's desires and aspirations correctly, and to the degree that he made a sincere effort to fulfill the promises he made.

The mass participated in the agrarian reform and in the difficult task of the administration of state enterprises; it went through the heroic experience of Playa Giron; it was hardened in the battles against various bands of bandits armed by the CIA; it lived through one of the most important decisions of modern times during the October crisis; and today it continues to work for the building of socialism.

Viewed superficially, it might appear that those who speak of the subordination of the individual to the state are right. The mass carries out with matchless enthusiasm and discipline the tasks set by the government, whether economic in character, cultural, defensive, athletic, or whatever.

The initiative generally comes from Fidel or from the Revolutionary High Command, and is explained to the people who adopt it as theirs. In some cases the party and government utilize a local experience

which may be of general value to the people, and follow the same procedure.

Nevertheless, the state sometimes makes mistakes. When one of these mistakes occurs, a decline in collective enthusiasm is reflected by a resulting quantitative decrease of the contribution of each individual, each of the elements forming the whole of the masses. Work is so paralyzed that insignificant quantities are produced. It is time to make a correction. That is what happened in March 1962 as a result of the sectarian policy imposed on the party by Anibal Escalante.

Clearly this mechanism is not adequate for insuring a succession of judicious measures. A more structured connection with the masses is needed and we must improve it in the course of the next years. But as far as initiatives originating in the upper strata of the government are concerned, we are presently utilizing the almost intuitive method of sounding out general reactions to the great problems we confront.

In this Fidel is a master, whose own special way of fusing himself with the people can be appreciated only by seeing him in action. At the great public mass meetings one can observe something like a counterpoint between two musical melodies whose vibrations provoke still newer notes. Fidel and the mass begin to vibrate together in a dialogue of growing intensity until they reach the climax in an abrupt conclusion culminating in our cry of struggle and victory.

The difficult thing for someone not living the experience of the revolution to understand is this close dialectical unity between the individual and the mass, in which the mass, as an aggregate of individuals, is interconnected with its leaders.

Some phenomena of this kind can be seen under capitalism, when politicians capable of mobilizing popular opinion appear, but these phenomena are not really genuine social movements. (If they were, it would not be entirely correct to call them capitalist.) These movements only live as long as the persons who inspire them, or until the harshness of capitalist society puts an end to the popular illusions which made them possible.

Under capitalism man is controlled by a pitiless code of laws which are usually beyond his comprehension. The alienated human individual is tied to society in its aggregate by an invisible umbilical

cord — the law of value. It is operative in all aspects of his life, shaping its course and destiny.

The laws of capitalism, invisible and blind to the majority, act upon the individual without his thinking about it. He sees only the vastness of a seemingly infinite horizon before him. That is how it is painted by capitalist propagandists who purport to draw a lesson from the example of Rockefeller — whether or not it is true — about the possibilities of success.

The amount of poverty and suffering required for the emergence of a Rockefeller, and the amount of depravity that the accumulation of a fortune of such magnitude entails, are left out of the picture and it is not always possible to make the people in general see this.

(A discussion of how the workers in the imperialist countries are losing the spirit of working-class internationalism due to a certain degree of complicity in the exploitation of the dependent countries, and how this weakens the combativity of the masses in the imperialist countries, would be appropriate here; but that is a theme which goes beyond the aim of these notes.)

The Individual Defined

In any case the road to success is pictured as one beset with perils but one which, it would seem, an individual with the proper qualities can overcome to attain the goal. The reward is seen in the distance; the way is lonely. Further it is a route for wolves; one can succeed only at the cost of failure to others.

I would now like to try to define the individual, the actor in this strange and moving drama of the building of socialism, in his dual existence as a unique being and as a member of society.

I think it makes the most sense to recognize his quality of incompleteness, of being an unfinished product. The sermons of the past have been transposed to the present in the individual consciousness and a continual labor is necessary to eradicate them. The process is two-sided: On the one side, society acts through direct and indirect education; on the other, the individual subjects himself to a process of conscious self-education.

The new society being formed has to compete fierce-

ly with the past. The latter makes itself felt in the consciousness in which the residue of an education systematically oriented towards isolating the individual still weighs heavily, and also through the very character of the transitional period in which the market relationships of the past still persist. The commodity is the economic cell of capitalist society; so long as it exists its effects will make themselves felt in the organization of production and, consequently, in consciousness.

Marx outlined the period of transition as a period which results from the explosive transformation of the capitalist system of a country destroyed by its own contradictions. However in historical reality we have seen that some countries, which were weak limbs of the tree of imperialism, were torn off first — a phenomenon foreseen by Lenin.

In these countries capitalism had developed to a degree sufficient to make its effects felt by the people in one way or another; but, having exhausted all its possibilities, it was not its internal contradictions which caused these systems to explode. The struggle for liberation from a foreign oppressor, the misery caused by external events like war whose consequences make the privileged classes bear down more heavily on the oppressed, liberation movements aimed at the overthrow of neo-colonial regimes — these are the usual factors in this kind of explosion. Conscious action does the rest.

In these countries a complete education for social labor has not yet taken place and wealth is far from being within the reach of the masses, simply through the process of appropriation. Underdevelopment on the one hand, and the inevitable flight of capital on the other, make a rapid transition impossible without sacrifices. There remains a long way to go in constructing the economic base, and the temptation to follow the beaten track of material interest as the moving lever of accelerated development is very great.

There is the danger that the forest won't be seen for the trees. Following the will-o'-the-wisp method of achieving socialism with the help of the dull instruments which link us to capitalism (the commodity as the economic cell, profitability, individual material interest as a lever, etc.) can lead into a blind alley.

Further, you get there after having traveled a long distance in which there were many crossroads and it is hard to figure out just where it was that you

took the wrong turn. The economic foundation which has been formed has already done its work of undermining the development of consciousness. To build communism, you must build new men, as well as the new economic base.

Hence it is very important to choose correctly the instrument for mobilizing the masses. Basically, this instrument must be moral in character, without neglecting, however, a correct utilization of the material stimulus — especially of a social character.

As I have already said, in moments of great peril it is easy to muster a powerful response to moral stimuli; but for them to retain their effect requires the development of a consciousness in which there is a new priority of values. Society as a whole must be converted into a gigantic school.

In rough outline this phenomenon is similar to the process by which capitalist consciousness was formed in its initial epoch. Capitalism uses force but it also educates the people to its system. Direct propaganda is carried out by those entrusted with explaining the inevitability of class society, either through some theory of divine origin or through a mechanical theory of natural selection.

This lulls the masses since they see themselves as being oppressed by an evil against which it is impossible to struggle. Immediately following comes hope of improvement — and in this, capitalism differed from the preceding caste systems which offered no possibilities for advancement.

For some people, the ideology of the caste system will remain in effect: The reward for the obedient after death is to be transported to some fabulous other world where in accordance with the old belief good people are rewarded. For other people there is this innovation: The division of society is predestined, but through work, initiative, etc., individuals can rise out of the class to which they belong.

These two ideologies and the myth of the self-made man have to be profoundly hypocritical: They consist in self-interested demonstrations that the lie of permanent class divisions is a truth.

In our case direct education acquires a much greater importance. The explanation is convincing because it is true; no subterfuge is needed. It is carried on by the state's educational apparatus as a function of general, technical and ideological culture through such agencies as the Ministry of Education and the

party's informational apparatus.

Education takes hold of the masses and the new attitude tends to become a habit; the masses continue to absorb it and to influence those who have not yet educated themselves. This is the indirect form of educating the masses, as powerful as the other.

Shaping of the New Man

But the process is a conscious one; the individual continually feels the impact of the new social power and perceives that he does not entirely measure up to its standards. Under the pressure of indirect education, he tries to adjust himself to a norm which he feels is just and which his own lack of development had prevented him from reaching theretofore. He educates himself.

In this period of the building of socialism we can see the new man being born. His image is not yet completely finished — it never could be — since the process goes forward hand in hand with the development of new economic forms.

Leaving out of consideration those whose lack of education makes them take the solitary road toward satisfying their own personal ambitions, there are those, even within this new panorama of a unified march forward, who have a tendency to remain isolated from the masses accompanying them. But what is important is that everyday men are continuing to acquire more consciousness of the need for their incorporation into society and, at the same time, of their importance as the movers of society.

They no longer travel completely alone over trackless routes toward distant desires. They follow their vanguard, consisting of the party, the advanced workers, the advanced men who walk in unity with the masses and in close communion with them. The vanguard has its eyes fixed on the future and its rewards, but this is not seen as something personal. The reward is the new society in which men will have attained new features: the society of communist man.

The road is long and full of difficulties. At times we wander from the path and must turn back; at other times we go too fast and separate ourselves from the masses; on occasions we go too slow and feel the hot breath of those treading on our heels. In our zeal as revolutionists we try to move ahead as fast as possible, clearing the way, but knowing we

must draw our sustenance from the mass and that it can advance more rapidly only if we inspire it by our example.

The fact that there remains a division into two main groups (excluding, of course, that minority not participating for one reason or another in the building of socialism), despite the importance given to moral stimuli, indicates the relative lack of development of social consciousness.

The vanguard group is ideologically more advanced than the mass; the latter understands the new values, but not sufficiently. While among the former there has been a qualitative change which enables them to make sacrifices to carry out their function as an advance guard, the latter go only half way and must be subjected to stimuli and pressures of a certain intensity. That is the dictatorship of the proletariat operating not only on the defeated class but also on individuals of the victorious class.

All of this means that for total success a series of mechanisms, of revolutionary institutions, is needed. Fitted into the pattern of the multitudes marching towards the future is the concept of a harmonious aggregate of channels, steps, restraints, and smoothly working mechanisms which would facilitate that advance by ensuring the efficient selection of those destined to march in the vanguard which, itself, bestows rewards on those who fulfill their duties, and punishments on those who attempt to obstruct the development of the new society.

This institutionalization of the revolution has not yet been achieved. We are looking for something which will permit a perfect identification between the government and the community in its entirety, something appropriate to the special conditions of the building of socialism, while avoiding to the maximum degree a mere transplanting of the commonplaces of bourgeois democracy — like legislative chambers — into the society in formation.

Some experiments aimed at the gradual development of institutionalized forms of the revolution have been made, but without undue haste. The greatest obstacle has been our fear lest any appearance of formality might separate us from the masses and from the individual, might make us lose sight of the ultimate and most important revolutionary aspiration, which is to see man liberated from his alienation.

Despite the lack of institutions, which must be corrected gradually, the masses are now making history as a conscious aggregate of individuals fighting for the same cause. Man under socialism, despite his apparent standardization, is more complete; despite the lack of perfect machinery for it, his opportunities for expressing himself and making himself felt in the social organism are infinitely greater.

Development of Consciousness

It is still necessary to strengthen his conscious participation, individual and collective, in all the mechanisms of management and production, and to link it to the idea of the need for technical and ideological education so that he sees how closely interdependent these processes are and how their advancement is parallel. In this way he will reach total consciousness of his social function, which is equivalent to his full realization as a human being, once the chains of alienation are broken.

This will be translated concretely into the regaining of his true nature through liberated labor and the expression of his proper human condition through culture and art.

In order for him to develop in the first of the above categories labor must acquire a new status. Man dominated by commodity relationships will cease to exist and a system will be created which establishes a quota for the fulfillment of his social duty. The means of production belong to society and the machine will merely be the trench where duty is fulfilled.

Man will begin to see himself mirrored in his work and to realize his full stature as a human being through the object created, through the work accomplished. Work will no longer entail surrendering a part of his being in the form of labor-power sold, which no longer belongs to him, but will represent ar emanation of himself, which would reflect his contribution to the common life, the fulfillment of his social duty.

We are doing everything possible to give labor this new status of social duty and to link it, on the one side, with the development of a technology which will create the conditions for greater freedom, and, on the other side, with voluntary work, based on a Marxist appreciation of the fact that man truly reaches a full human condition when he produces without being

driven by the physical need to sell his labor as a commodity.

Of course there are other factors involved even when labor is voluntary: Man has not transformed all the coercive factors around him into conditioned reflexes of a social character and he still produces under the pressures of his society. (Fidel calls this moral compulsion.)

Man still needs to undergo a complete spiritual rebirth in his attitude towards his work, freed from the direct pressure of his social environment though linked to it by his new habits. That will be communism.

The change in consciousness will not take place automatically, just as it doesn't take place automatically in the economy. The alterations are slow and are not harmonious; there are periods of acceleration, pauses and even retrogressions.

Furthermore, we must take into account, as I pointed out before, that we are not dealing with a period of pure transition as Marx envisaged it in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* but rather with a new phase unforseen by him: an initial period of the transition to communism or the construction of socialism. It is taking place in the midst of violent class struggles and with elements of capitalism within it which obscure a complete understanding of its essence.

If we add to this the scholasticism which has hindered the development of Marxist philosophy and impeded the systematic development of the theory of the transition period, we must agree that we are still in diapers and that it is necessary to devote ourselves to investigating all the principal characteristics of this period before elaborating an economic and political theory of greater scope.

The resulting theory will, no doubt, put great stress on the two pillars of the construction of socialism: the education of the new man and the development of technology. There is much for us to do in regard to both but delay is least excusable in regard to the concepts of technology, since here it is not a question of going forward blindly but of following over a long stretch of road already opened up by the world's more advanced countries. This is why Fidel pounds away with such insistence on the need for the technological training of our people and especially of its vanguard.

In the field of ideas not involving productive activities it is easier to distinguish the division between material and spiritual necessity. For a long time man has been trying to free himself from alienation through culture and art. While he dies every day during the eight or more hours that he sells his labor, he comes to life afterwards in his spiritual activities.

But this remedy bears the germs of the same sickness; it is as a solitary individual that he seeks communion with his environment. He defends his oppressed individuality through the artistic medium and reacts to esthetic ideas as a unique being whose aspiration is to remain untarnished.

All that he is doing, however, is attempting to escape. The law of value is not simply a naked reflection of productive relations: The monopoly capitalists — even while employing purely empirical methods — weave around art a complicated web which converts it into a willing tool. The superstructure of society ordains the type of art in which the artist has to be educated. Rebels are subdued by its machinery and only rare talents may create their own work. The rest become shameless hacks or are crushed.

A school of artistic "freedom" is created, but its values also have limits, even if they are imperceptible until we come into conflict with them — that is to say, until the real problem of man and his alienation arises. Meaningless anguish and vulgar amusement thus become convenient safety valves for human anxiety. The idea of using art as a weapon of protest is combatted.

If one plays by the rules, he gets all the honors: such honors as a monkey might get for performing pirouettes. The condition that has been imposed is that one cannot try to escape from the invisible cage.

When the revolution took power there was an exodus of those who had been completely housebroken; the rest — whether they were revolutionaries or not — saw a new road open to them. Artistic inquiry experienced a new impulse. The paths, however, had already been more or less laid out and the escapist concept hid itself behind the word "freedom." This attitude was often found even among the revolutionaries themselves, reflecting the bourgeois idealism still in their consciousness.

Effect of "Socialist Realism"

In those countries which had gone through a simi-

lar process, they tried to combat such tendencies by an exaggerated dogmatism. General culture was virtually tabooed and it was declared that the acme of cultural aspiration was the formally exact representation of nature. This was later transformed into a mechanical representation of the social reality they wanted to show: the ideal society almost without conflicts or contradictions which they sought to create.

Socialism is young and has made errors. Many times revolutionaries lack the knowledge and intellectual courage needed to meet the task of developing the new man with methods different from the conventional ones — and the conventional methods suffer from the influences of the society which created them.

(Again we raise the theme of the relationship between form and content.)

Disorientation is widespread, and the problems of material construction preoccupy us. There are no artists of great authority who, at the same time, have great revolutionary authority. The men of the party must take this task to hand and seek attainment of the main goal, the education of the people.

But then they sought simplification. They sought an art that would be understood by everyone — the kind of "art" *functionaries* understand. True artistic values were disregarded and the problem of general culture was reduced to taking some things from the socialist present and some from the dead past (since dead, not dangerous). Thus Socialist Realism arose upon the foundations of the art of the last century.

But the realistic art of the 19th Century is also a class art, more purely capitalist perhaps than this decadent art of the 20th Century which reveals the anguish of alienated man. In the field of culture capitalism has given all that it had to give and nothing of it remains but the offensive stench of a decaying corpse, today's decadence in art.

Why then should we try to find the only valid prescription for art in the frozen forms of Socialist Realism? We cannot counterpose the concept of Socialist Realism to that of freedom, because the latter does not yet exist and will not exist until the complete development of the new society. Let us not attempt, from the pontifical throne of realism-at-any-cost, to condemn all the art forms which have evolved since the first half of the 19th Century for we would then fall into the Proudhonian mistake of returning to the past, of putting a straitjacket on the artistic ex-

pression of the man who is being born and is in the process of making himself.

What is needed is the development of an ideological-cultural mechanism which permits both free inquiry and the uprooting of the weeds which multiply so easily in the fertile soil of state subsidies.

In our country we don't find the error of mechanical realism but rather its opposite, and that is so because the need for the creation of a new man has not been understood, a new man who would represent neither the ideas of the 19th Century nor those of our own decadent and morbid century.

What we must create is the man of the 21st Century, although this is still a subjective and not a realized aspiration. It is precisely this man of the next century who is one of the fundamental objectives of our work and, to the extent that we achieve concrete successes on a theoretical plane — or vice versa — to the extent we draw theoretical conclusions of a broad character on the basis of our concrete research, we shall have made an important contribution to Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of humanity.

Reaction against the man of the 19th Century has brought us a relapse into the decadence of the 20th Century; it is not a fatal error, but we must overcome it, lest we open a breach for revisionism.

The great multitudes continue to develop; the new ideas continue to attain their proper force within society; the material possibilities for the full development of all members of society make the task much more fruitful. The present is a time for struggle; the future is ours.

To sum up, the fault of our artists and intellectuals lies in their original sin: They are not truly revolutionary. We can try to graft the elm tree so that it will bear pears, but at the same time we must plant pear trees. New generations will come who will be free of the original sin. The probabilities that great artists will appear will be greater to the degree that the field of culture and the possibilities for expression are broadened.

Our task is to prevent the present generation, torn asunder by its conflicts, from becoming perverted and from perverting new generations. We must not bring into being either docile servants of official thought, or scholarship students who live at the expense of the state — practicing "freedom." Already there are revolutionaries coming who will sing the

song of the new man in the true voice of the people. This is a process which takes time.

In our society the youth and the party play an important role.

The former is especially important because it is the malleable clay from which the new man can be shaped without any of the old faults. The youth is treated in accordance with our aspirations. Its education steadily grows more full and we are not forgetting about its integration into the labor force from the beginning. Our scholarship students do physical work during their vacations or along with their studying. Work is a reward in some cases, a means of education in others, but it is never a punishment. A new generation is being born.

The party is a vanguard organization. The best workers are proposed by their fellow workers for admission into it. It is a minority but it has great authority because of the quality of its cadres. Our aspiration is that the party will become a mass party, but only when the masses have reached the level of the vanguard, that is, when they are educated for communism.

Our work constantly aims at this education. The party is the living example; its cadres should be teachers of hard work and sacrifice. They should lead the masses by their deeds to the completion of the revolutionary task which involves years of hard struggle against the difficulties of construction, class enemies, the sicknesses of the past, imperialism . . .

Now I would like to explain the role played by personality, by man as the individual leader of the masses which make history. This has been our experience; it is not a prescription.

Fidel gave the revolution its impulse in the first years, and also its leadership. He always strengthened it, but there is a good group who are developing in the same way as the outstanding leader and there is a great mass which follows its leaders because it has faith in them, and it has faith in them because they have been able to interpret its desires.

This is not a matter of how many pounds of meat one might be able to eat, nor of how many times a year someone can go to the beach, nor how many ornaments from abroad you might be able to buy with present salaries. What is really involved is that the individual feels more complete, with much more

internal richness and much more responsibility.

The individual in our country knows that the illustrious epoch in which it was determined that he live is one of sacrifice; he is familiar with sacrifice. The first came to know it in the Sierra Maestra and wherever else they fought; afterwards all of Cuba came to know it. Cuba is the vanguard of the Americas and must make sacrifices because it occupies the post of the advanced guard, because it shows the road to full freedom to the masses of Latin America.

Within the country, the leadership has to carry out its vanguard role, and it must be said with all sincerity that, in a real revolution to which one gives himself entirely and from which he expects no material remuneration, the task of the revolutionary vanguard is at one and the same time glorious and agonizing.

At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality. Perhaps it is one of the great dramas of the leader that he must combine a passionate spirit with a cold intelligence and make painful decisions without contracting a muscle. Our vanguard revolutionaries must idealize this love of the people, the most sacred cause, and make it one and indivisible. They cannot descend to the level of the ordinary man's daily expenditure of sentimentality even though little.

The leaders of the revolution have children just beginning to talk who are not learning to call their fathers by name; wives from whom they have to be separated as part of the general sacrifice of their lives to bring the revolution to its fulfillment; the circle of their friends is strictly limited to the number of fellow revolutionists. There is no life outside of the revolution.

In these circumstances one must have a great deal of humanity and a strong sense of justice and truth in order not to fall into extreme dogmatism and cold scholasticism, into an isolation from the masses. We must strive every day so that this love of living humanity will be transformed into actual deeds, into acts that serve as examples, as a moving force.

The revolutionary, the ideological motor force of the revolution, is consumed by his uninterrupted activity, which can have no other end than death

until the building of socialism on a world scale has been accomplished. If his revolutionary zeal is blunted when the most urgent tasks are being accomplished on a local scale and if he forgets his proletarian internationalism, the revolution which he leads will cease to be an inspiring force and he will sink into a comfortable lethargy which imperialism, our irreconcilable enemy, will utilize well. Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary necessity. So we educate our people.

Of course there are dangers in the present situation, and not only that of dogmatism, not only that of weakening the ties with the masses in the midst of the great task. There is also the danger of weaknesses. If a man thinks that dedicating his entire life to the revolution means that he cannot allow his mind to be disturbed by the fact that his son lacks certain things, or that his children's shoes are worn out, or that his family lacks some necessity, then he is entering into rationalizations which open his mind to infection by the seeds of future corruption.

In our case we have maintained that our children should have or should lack those things that the children of the average man have or lack, and that our families should understand this and strive for it. The revolution is made through man, but man must forge his revolutionary spirit day by day.

Thus we march on. At the head of the immense column — we are neither afraid nor ashamed to say it — is Fidel. After him come the best cadres of the party, and immediately behind them, so close that we feel its tremendous force, comes the people in its entirety, a solid mass of individualities moving toward a common goal, individuals who have attained consciousness of what must be done, men who fight to escape from the realm of necessity and to enter that of freedom.

This great throng becomes organized; its clarity of program corresponds to its consciousness of the necessity of organization. It is no longer a dispersed force divisible into thousands of fragments thrown into space like splinters from a hand grenade, trying by any means to achieve some protection against an uncertain future, in desperate struggle with their fellows.

We know that sacrifices lie before us and that we must pay a price for the heroic act of being a van-

guard nation. We leaders know that we must pay a price for the right to say that we are at the head of a people which is at the head of the Americas. Each and every one of us must pay his exact quota of sacrifice, conscious that he will get his reward in the satisfaction of fulfilling a duty, conscious that he will advance with all toward the image of the new man dimly visible on the horizon.

Let me attempt some conclusions:

We socialists are freer because we are more complete; we are more complete because we are freer.

The skeleton of our complete freedom is already formed. The flesh and the clothing are lacking. We will create them.

Our freedom and its daily maintenance are paid for in blood and sacrifice.

Our sacrifice is conscious: an installment payment on the freedom that we are building.

The road is long and in part unknown. We understand our limitations. We will create the man of the 21st Century — we, ourselves.

We will forge ourselves in daily action, creating a new man with a new technology.

Individual personality plays a role in mobilizing and leading the masses insofar as it embodies the highest virtues and aspirations of the people and does not wander from the path.

It is the vanguard group which clears the way, the best among the good, the party.

The basic clay of our work is the youth. We place our hope in them and prepare them to take the banner from our hands.

If this inarticulate letter clarifies anything it has accomplished the objective which motivated it. I close with our greeting, which is as much of a ritual as a handshake or an "Ave Maria Purissima," — FATHERLAND OR DEATH!

Che's letter to Fidel

The following is the complete text of the letter from Ernesto "Che" Guevara to Fidel Castro explaining why he was leaving Cuba. Castro told the Cuban people the letter had been delivered to him last April to be made public at a time of his own choosing. He indicated that it had not been made public until now (Oct. 3) for reasons of Guevara's personal security and that his present whereabouts would not be disclosed for the same reason. He said that Guevara had written other letters to his family and various of his comrades and that they would be asked "to donate them to the revolution because we consider that they are documents worthy of being part of history." —Ed. Note

Fidel,

At this moment I remember many things -- when I met you in Maria Antonia's house, when you suggested my coming, all the tensions involved in the preparations.

One day they asked us who should be notified in case of death, and the real possibility of that fact affected us all. Later we knew that it was true, that in revolution one wins or dies (if it is a real one). Many comrades fell along the way to victory.

Today everything is less dramatic because we are more mature. But the fact is repeated, I feel that I have fulfilled the part of my duty that tied me to the Cuban revolution in its territory, and I say good-by to you, the comrades, your people, who are already mine.

I formally renounce my position in the national leadership of the party, my post as minister, my rank of major, and my Cuban citizenship. Nothing legal binds me to Cuba. The only ties are of another nature; those which cannot be broken as appointments can.

Recalling my past life, I believe I have worked with sufficient honor and dedication to consolidate the revolutionary triumph. My only serious failing was not having confided more in you from the first moments in the Sierra Maestra, and not having understood quickly enough your qualities as a leader and revolutionary.

I have lived magnificent days and I felt at your side the pride of belonging to our people in the brilliant yet sad days of the Carribean crisis.

Few times has a statesman been more brilliant than you in those days. I am also proud of having followed you without hesitation, identified with your way of thinking and of seeing and of appraising dangers and principles.

Other nations of the world call for my modest efforts. I can do that which is denied you because of your responsibility as the head of Cuba and the time has come for us to part.

I want it known that I do it with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow: I leave here the purest of my hopes as a builder, and the dearest of those I love. And I leave a people that received me as a son. That wounds me deeply. I carry to new battle fronts the faith that you taught me, the revolutionary spirit of my people, the feeling of fulfilling the most sacred of duties: to fight against imperialism wherever

it may be. This comforts and heals the deepest wounds.

I state once more that I free Cuba from any responsibility, except that which stems from its example. If my final hour finds me under other skies, my last thought will be of this people and especially of you. I am thankful for your teaching, your example, and I will try to be faithful to the final consequences of my acts.

I have always been identified with the foreign policy of our revolution and I will continue to be. Wherever I am, I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary, and as such I shall behave. I am not sorry that I leave my children and my wife nothing material. I am happy it is that way. I ask nothing for them as I know the state will provide enough for their expenses and education.

I would like to say much to you and to our people, but I feel it is not necessary. Words cannot express what I would want them to, and I don't think it's worth while to banter phrases.

Ever onward to victory! Homeland or death!

I embrace you with all my revolutionary fervor.

"Che"

—Reprinted from *The Militant*, Oct. 18, 1965

Cuba's Minister of Industries, Major Ernesto 'Che' Guevara's ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, *December 11, 1964* .20

order NOW from

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

Box 923, Adelaide Street P.O., Toronto

SPEECHES BY FIDEL CASTRO

CUBA CONFRONTS THE FUTURE, *January 2, 1964* .35

THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA, *26th of July speech, 1963* .50

OUR LINE IS THE LINE OF CONSISTENT ANTI-IMPERIALISM, *Sept. 28, 1963* .15

AGAINST SECTARIANISM, *March 26, 1962* .25

CONGRESS OF WOMEN SPEECH, FOURTH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH, *January, 1963* .25

NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 26TH OF JULY, *July, 1963* .25

CASTRO SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT, FIDEL SPEAKS TO THE YOUTH, *March 13, 1962* .15

FIDEL CASTRO AT THE UNITED NATIONS, *Sept. 26, 1960* .50

THE SECOND DECLARATION OF HAVANA, *Feb. 4, 1962* .25

CURRENT MATERIAL OF INTEREST

INSIDE THE CUBAN REVOLUTION *by Adolfo Gilly, an MR publication* 1.00

WHAT IS CUBA REALLY LIKE *by Dave Dellinger, from Liberation* .50

CUBA, 6TH YEAR OF REVOLUTION *by J. Rubin, January, 1965, Minority of One* .50

FPCC PUBLICATIONS

THE REAL CUBA—3 CANADIANS, *Olson, Riddell, Chartrand* .35

SECOND LOOK AT CUBA, *by Jack Scott* .35

FOUR CANADIANS WHO SAW CUBA, *teacher, student, NDP MP, unionist* .35

VIVE CUBA *by Ernest Mandel (in French)* .15

amis du peuple cubain

TORONTO 165 Spadina Ave., Room 30
MONTREAL C.P. 36, Outremont
VANCOUVER Box 2578
WINNIPEG N. Woodward 856 North Dr.

Printed in Canada by voluntary labor